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The Compleat
English Gentleman

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The Compleat English Gentleman

By Daniel Defoe

Edited for the First Time from the Author's
Autograph Manuscript in the British
Museum, with Introduction
Notes, and Index

By Karl D. Bülbring, M.A., Ph.D.

London: Published by David Nutt
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TO

DR. FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL,

THE EDITOR OF MANY

VALUABLE MANUSCRIPTS AND EARLY PRINTED BOOKS,

THE AUTHOR OF NUMEROUS ESSAYS

ON EARLY ENGLISH LITERATURE, BIOGRAPHY,

AND EDUCATION,

THE LEADER AND GENEROUS PROMOTER OF THE ENDEAVOURS

OF HUNDREDS OF FELLOW-WORKERS,

BY

HIS SINCERE AND GRATEFUL FRIEND,

THE EDITOR.

CONTENTS.

PAGE
FOREWORDS i
REMARKS ON THE HISTORY OF THE WORD GENTLEMAN xxxii
ON THE EDUCATION OF THE GENTRY IN FORMER TIMES. xlv
TEXT OF DEFOE'S WORK 1
INTRODUCCION 3

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

Of the born gentleman, in the common, or modern, or present acceptation of the word, and as the gentry among us are pleas'd to understand it 11

CHAPTER II.

Of the great mistakes in the first managing the children of gentlemen, and of the horrible corrupcion of blood from the suckling them by those (. . . .). That the ignorance and the bad educacion of gentlemen of quallity and fortune is no where in Christendome so entirely neglected as in this nacion, and some thing of the consequences of it[1] . 59

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[1] This heading is struck out in MS.

CHAPTER III.

PAGE

Of the generall ignorance of the English gentry, and the true causes of it in the manner of their introduccion into life 92

CHAPTER IV.

Of what may be the unhappy consequences of this generall defect in the education of our gentry, and a rational proposall for preventing those consequences 144

CHAPTER V.

That it is not to late to put a stop to this national defect of learning, and that the gentlemen of England, generally speaking, may in a great measure retriev the loss of their education by a little voluntary applicacion; and an account of some proper and very easie methods for the doing it I have heard 184

CHAPTER VI.

Of the gentleman's government of himself, his family, and fortune 232

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

Of the fund for the increase of our nobillity and gentry in England, being the begining of those we call bred gentlemen, with some account of the difference 256

NOTES 279

INDEX 289

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FOREWORDS.

THE *Compleat English Gentleman*, by Daniel Defoe, which appears now for the first time in print, is preserved, in the author's handwriting, in the manuscript collection of the British Museum, numbered 32,555 of the Additional MSS.

John Forster was the first to mention the existence of the work, in his *Biographical Essays*, London, 1860, foot-note on page 155. Fuller particulars were made public by William Lee (*Life of Daniel Defoe*, London, 1869, pp. 451, 452, and 457), and to these subsequent writers have added nothing further.

In one point they have all been misled, for the MS. does not consist of a single work, but includes another, which is bound up with it and fills the leaves 67–100. This second work bears the title, *On Royall Educacion*, and will be published shortly by Mr. David Nutt.

The *Compleat English Gentleman* was one of Defoe's last works, the only one published subsequently being his *Effectual Scheme for the Preventing of Street Robberies, and Suppressing the other Disorders of the*

Night (1730). Together with the MS. is preserved a printed proof-sheet of sixteen pages, containing the beginning of the work. This seems to be the only part which was ever put in type. There is extant a letter written by Defoe to Mr. T. Watts, in Wild Court, the printer of this sheet, which is important, as it fixes the date previous to which the work must have been composed. It is as follows:—

> Sir—I am to ask your pardon for keeping the enclosed so long, Mr. Baker having told me your resolution of taking it in hand and working it off. But I have been exceedingly ill. I have revised it again, and contracted it very much, and hope to bring it within the bulk you desire, or as near it as possible. But this and some needful alterations will oblige you to much trouble in the first sheet, and perhaps almost as bad as setting it over again, which cannot be avoided. I will endeavour to send the rest of the copy so well corrected as to give you very little trouble. I here return the first sheet and as much copy as will make near three sheets more. You shall have all the remainder so as not to let you stand still at all.
>
> I am, Sir,
> Your most humble servant,
> DE FOE.
>
> *Sept.* 10*th*, 1729.

The *terminus a quo* is furnished by internal evidence of the work itself. Many historical facts are mentioned, the latest of which are these:—

On page 35, Peter the Great, who died January 28, 1725, is spoken of as the late Czar, and his wife and successor, Catherine I., who died May 17, 1727, as the late Empress; whilst Prince Menchikoff, who was deprived of the Regency and sent to Siberia in September 1727, is alluded to as being in exile.

Thus, allowing some time for the news to reach London, and taking into account the delay mentioned in the letter, we get the year 1728 and the earlier half of 1729 as the date of composition.

The manuscript and proof-sheet appear to have remained in the possession of Defoe's relations, the Baker family, for more than a hundred years, as Mr. Dawson Turner, of Great Yarmouth, bought them in 1831 from the Rev. H. D. F. Baker, the descendant of Henry Baker, son-in-law of Defoe, for £69, the British Museum not having ventured to go beyond £35.[1] At the sale of his MSS. in 1859 Defoe's treatise was purchased by Mr. James Crossley for £75 8*s*. (including commission).[2] The British Museum bought it on June 20, 1885, at Sotheby's (Crossley Sale, lot 2973).

The MS. is a small quarto, and consists of 142 leaves, the printed sheet being affixed at the end. According to Mr. Francis B. Bickley, of the British Museum, the binding was certainly done when the MS. belonged to Dawson Turner, since many of his other MSS. are bound in exactly the same style. The proof-sheet has a few corrections, but in a handwriting different from Defoe's. The MS. itself is in Defoe's own firm, small, and close writing. As a rule, only one side of the paper is written on, but many insertions and notes are added on the opposite page. The first leaf contains the title. On the next six leaves are three different Introductions, of which the first, filling folio 2, runs thus :—

---

[1] Forster, page 155; Lee, page 457; and Dawson Turner's Sale Catalogue.

[2] See the fly-leaf of the MS., where also this remark in Crossley's hand is to be found: "*For an admirer of Defoe this volume is a treasure.*"

The True Bred Gentleman.

NOTHING in the world can be more prepoſterous, and yet nothing of the kind is more warmly eſpouſed and dogmatically inſiſted upon, than the groſs nocions of[1] nobillity and gentillity, as they are at this time entertained among [us].[2]

If it were to be defended by reaſoning, or ſupported by argument, we ſhould certainly have found ſomething among the antients for an opinion that has taken ſuch deep root among us.

If phyloſophy or the laws of Nature were furniſhed with anything to ſupply the defect of argument, they would have been ſearcht to the bottom long agoe.

If anatomy, or the ſtricteſt inquiry into the microcoſme of the creature called man could afford anything in its favour, ſomething might be found in the learned anatomiſts of the age.

But if neither phyloſophy, reaſon, or demonſtration of parts can ſhew any ſpecific difference between the Patricij and the Plebei, if the whole kind is formed in the ſame mould, if all the parts are the ſame, if the form is the ſame, and the materialls the ſame ; where then muſt we ſearch for the gentleman, among the remains of antiquity, or among the works of Nature ?[3]

This brief preface does not suit with the beginning of the first chapter, as it partly contradicts and partly anticipates what is said there.

The second Introduction (fol. 3–5) is the one adopted for the present edition, as it agrees best with the treatise that follows, though it seems incomplete, ending abruptly as it does in the middle of folio 5*a*. It does not seem that anything is lost, but that Defoe broke off at this point.

---

[1] MS. *of of*.

[2] *us* omitted in MS.

[3] At the bottom of the page : "Mr. Furlong at or near the King's Arms at Hungerford Market in the Strand."

The third Introduction (fol. 6–7) is in parts very like the one I have chosen, and is full of witty and striking remarks. I reproduce it here:—

Introducion.

THE grave ones tell us that every age has its peculiar favourite follyes, ſingular to itſelf, which the people are all wayes fond of and blind to the weakneſs of them; and if I may judge of the paſt times by the preſent, I believ 'tis very true.

It is true, in former ages, when the ſimple things they have taken up with, have run ſome length and this or that vice has been faſhionable for a time, the fluctuating palate has chang'd its guſt, the habit has ſmelt ſtale, they have grown ſick of their old miſſtreſs, and fac'd about to ſome other extravagance: whether this age will do ſo, or how long it may be, or if, when they do, they will change for the better or for the worſe, where is the conjuror that can tell?

It might be uſefull, if it were not for being tedious, to run over the world and giv a liſt of nacionall follyes, and to look back into time and trace periodicall extravagances of particular ages in thoſe nations ſeparately or among man-kind univerſally: how one age has been quarrelſome, another drunken,[1] another lewd, etc., more than any before them.

But what need when we are come to the heel of time, when the whole liſt being, as it were, worn out, and every humour has had its day: the world, at preſent, ſeems to engroſs them into one generall, and making a kind of democraſie of vices, to let them all reign together. Yet it is true that even in ſuch a Common Wealth of crime there will be ſome predominant.[2] The age will embrace ſome peculiar, and this I take to be our caſe. *Pride* and ignorance have been the two tyrant devils of the age. They have reign'd[3] too long and got ſuch a footing that, as I doubt, they will not abdicate; and particu-

[1] MS. *druk'en.* [2] MS. *predominat.* [3] MS. *rign'd.*

larly as we do not ſee any worſe to come in their room, ſo I can not ſee a probable end of their dominion.

Pride indeed is an original, a child of Hell by imediate generacion, which comes in by a kind of hereditary right; and it reigns accordingly like a tyrant.

Ignorance indeed is an upſtart, for man was not created a fool: 'Tis a negatio, a deprivacion of knowledge, as darkneſs is a deprivacion of light.

Nature's produccion is a *Charte Blanch*, and the ſoul is plac'd in him like a[1] peice of clean paper, upon which the precepts of life are to be written by his inſtructors, and he has the charge of keeping it fair lay'd upon himſelf.

If his introduccion is good, if he is well taught, 'tis his felicity; if not, his ſoul remains a blank, and the world is a blank to him, and he is miſerable by the accident of his birth, not by his fault. But if this blank be written upon, but either the writing makes no impreſſion or is not carefully preſerv'd: this is both his miſery and his fault, and this is the criminal negatio I am to ſpeak of. This is *Ignorance* in the abſtract.

But to bring theſe two together which one would think was impoſſible—for how can they conſiſt? Is it poſſible a man can be proud of ignorance? was ever a crooked man proud of a hump back, or a cripple proud of his wooden leg? Was ever a man proud of the ſmall-pox in his face or vain of being ſquint ey'd? To[2] be proud of knowledge,[3] tho' it is a blemiſh too and a great token of degeneracy, yet there is ſome foundacion for it. There is ſomething at bottom to be proud of, and as Mr. Dryden ſaid to Shadwell:—

——Prid of wit and ſence may be an evil,
But to be proud of nonſence, that's the Devil.

To be proud of ignorance is to be proud of non-entity. Ignorance is no being, as black is no colour. 'Tis a demiſſion; 'tis a *nothing*, if that can be ſaid to be that has no being. In ſhort, 'tis a name without a thing, 'tis a noun of emptyneſs, a word to ſignifye the want of every thing that is worth anything.

I might examin here the reaſon of the generall ignorance, which we are ſo fond of in this age, and how it comes to encreaſe as it does; and I might run it up to its originall, (viz.) the defect of education and inſtruccion ; and that indeed may be the true naturall reaſon as we ſhall ſee afterward : But I am not ſo much upon the grave part yet.

---

[1] *a* omitted in MS. [2] With a small letter in MS. [3] Folio 7.

But the preſent cauſe of our ignorance, at leaſt the beſt reaſon we can give for its encreaſe, is its being ſo faſhionable, and there comes in the pride of it.

We have a tradition among us, how true I leave to the criticks, that in the reign of Richard III., commonly, tho' (as ſome ſay) falſly call'd *Crook-back'd Richard*, the courtiers made themſelves *humps* to wear under their clothes, that ſo they might be in the faſhion and look like the king,[1] *regis ad exemplum.* So by the rule of our preſent diſcourſe, they might ſet up for ſeverall other imitacions in the round ſhouldred age. The Ruſſian ladyes, I am told, in the reign of the late Czar's grandfather, painted their hair red, becauſe the Czarina's hair was red ; and who knows, had King James II. reign'd a little longer,[2] ſham births, warming pans, and borrow'd heires might have become a faſhion to prevent alienacion of eſtates and keep the manſion houſe in the right line.

How glorious ignorance came to be the faſhion ſo much among us, is not very eaſie to ſay, or when it had its original. But that we grow proud of this deformity I muſt date from the fact, viz. of its being faſhionable.

But I am told this is begging the queſtion, that it does not appear ; or to reduce it to a fair enquiry, how do I prov that it is the faſhion.

If I may be allow'd to answer that queſtion with a queſtion, at the ſame time promiſing to giv an ample diſcovery of the fact[3] in its place, my queſtion ſhould be, in ſhort, this :—

If Ignorance is not the faſhion, why is it not more out of faſhion? why do we decline ſending our young noblemen and the ſons of out beſt gentry to ſchool, and eſpecially the eldeſt ſons, the heirs of the eſtates? why muſt they have no learning?

The, tho' weak and fooliſh, anſwer is : Why, nobody does it. 'Tis below his quallity. "*What?*" ſayes the lady mother, "ſhall *my ſon* go to ſchool! *my ſon!* no, indeed, he ſhan't go among the rabble of every trades-man's boys and be bred up among mechanicks. No, no, my ſon is a gentleman; my ſon, is he not a baronet by his blood? and he is born a gentleman, and he ſhall be bred a gentleman."— And ſo the young gentleman has a tutor beſtow'd on him to teach him at home; 'tis taken for a ſcandal to the heir of the family to be under diſcipline and under reſtraints, and much more to be under the power and correcion of a ſorry pedagogue: no, he ſhall have a tutor.

---

[1] MS. ∩.

[2] MS. *long*.

[3] "ct" indistinct.

And what is the Engliſh of this tutor? 'Tis evedent in the conſequence. The young gentleman has a tutor, that is, a play-fellow: while he is a child, indeed, he may learn him his letters and to read Engliſh, and indeed, *this but ſorryly* too ſometimes, and very ſeldome to ſpell it. But more of that in its place. Then, with ſome difficulty, he is taught his accidence, which he can rather ſay than underſtand, and this carryes him on to 12 or 13 year old, perhaps farther, according as he is dull or quick. If [*end of fol.* 7].

There are some very good points in this Introduction; but that which has been prefixed to the present edition deserves the preference, not only as being more complete, but because it leads more directly to the subject of the work, and indeed supplies some almost necessary observations, intended to make the aim of the book more easily intelligible, and to preclude misunderstandings. It seems not improbable that the two rejected Introductions were written before entering on the composition of the work itself, whilst the third was written, after a good deal, or perhaps the whole, of the book was completed; and that Defoe desired, at the outset, plainly to state his opinion on several points on which he feared he had not made it sufficiently clear in the body of the work.

The beginning of the treatise itself is not preserved in manuscript, but the want is fully supplied by the printed portion. One sheet consisting of two leaves must have been lost before folio 8, which accordingly is numbered 2 by Defoe himself; also folio 10 has the old number 3. The beginning of the text of folio 8 is found on page 8 of the proof-sheet; but two insertions preserved in the printed portion, and which must have been written on the back of the preceding leaf, are lost with the first sheet.

The MS. is well preserved, but the close and hurried writing, the indistinct characters, which may very often mean different letters, the great number of emendations, additions, and deleted passages, the extensive use of contractions and of shorthand and other abbreviations, and the uncommon, irregular, and often curious and faulty spelling make it difficult and sometimes perplexing to read. Mr. Francis B. Bickley, of the British Museum, who made the copy for the printer, has performed his arduous task in a most satisfactory manner, and, in order to make the reproduction as correct as possible, the editor has himself compared all doubtful, difficult, or complicated passages with the MS. while correcting the proofs. There are a few shorthand notes in the MS. which it has been impossible to decipher, or to get transcribed by an expert; but they are always short, and never form part of the text. All the shorthand abbreviations in the text we have, I believe, interpreted correctly.

As Defoe himself states in the letter to his printer, he has tried to shorten the work, and there are, in consequence, a few deleted passages of some length in the MS., which are printed at the end of the present volume among the Notes.

In preparing the text for publication I have avoided needless corrections. In the opening part, which had to be taken from the printed sheet, I have strictly adhered to the old spelling and punctuation, though it will be seen that both in these and in the use of capital letters, there are many inconsistencies.

With regard to the MS. itself, I have adhered to the text, with the following necessary exceptions. I have expanded all abbreviations, which are very numerous. Defoe uses a short, thick, horizontal stroke for *and*, only occasionally employing the sign & ; a short, thick, oblique stroke from right to left for *that ;* a similar one from left to right for *the ;* but sometimes the well-known abbreviations y^{t} and y^{e}. An *o* with a horizontal stroke means either *which* or *what ;* if crossed obliquely from right to left, it means *particular.* Two connected *o*'s stand for *good ;* a long stroke with an *o*, for *notwithstanding.* Another more complicated shorthand abbreviation is used for the words *government*, *governor*, and *govern ;* another for *understand* and *understood ;* likewise the words *world*, *would*, *should*, *said*, *children*, *compleat*, *king*, *Christ* and *Christian*, *circumstance*, *providence*, *necessary*, *of*, *satisfaction*, are, some of them usually, some occasionally, represented by shorthand notations ; a dot before some of them signifies the addition of an *s*,—*e.g.*, *kings*, *that's.* Acc^{t} signifies *account ;* und^{r}, *under ;* m̄, *mm ;* prelimin^{y}, *preliminary ;* bro^{t}, *brought ;* G, *gentleman*, or *gentlemen*, or *gentry*, or *gentle' ;* ha', *have ;* hon^{bl}, *honourable ;* S., *Spain ;* S^{r}, *Sir ;* Po., *Portuguese ;* T—M, *tradesman ;* C^{d}, *Cardinal ;* K^{d}, *kingdom ;* Hund^{ds}, *hundreds ;* tho^{ts}, *thoughts ;* Q., *Queen ;* sev^{ll}, *severall ;* Plo, *plenipotentiary ;* P., *Parlia-*

ment; ps, *peice* (Defoe's spelling for *piece*); gen^{ll}, *generall;* comp^{a}, *company;* y^{m}, *them;* ordin^{a}, *ordinary;* Abishops, *Archbishops;* Eng., *English;* Pat. Nost., *Paternoster;* D., *Devil;* M., *Majesty;* Gent., *Gentleman;* bro., *brother;* fa., *father;* L^{d}, *Lord;* agst, *against;* tho^{t}, *thought.* Defoe also uses the old abbreviations for *er* and *re* after p; *m* with this abbreviation of *er* means *merit.* The *i* between *c* and *o* or *a* in such words as *condicion*, *especially*, is either represented by a flourish over the two neighbouring letters, or omitted altogether.

Many of these abbreviations are at once understood, and the meaning of others was found by comparison with the printed sheet, whilst several could only be explained conjecturally by comparing all the passages in which they occur. To this latter class belong the words *notwithstanding*, *children*, *good*, *providence*, *compleat*, *Christian*, *circumstance*, and one or two others. For the sake of scrupulous readers I have pointed out in foot-notes all the passages where such abbreviations occur, though I have myself no doubt that the interpretations given are correct.

I have been obliged to supply the punctuation,—as Defoe scarcely puts any commas, and only very rarely puts a full stop or other mark;—and to regulate the use of capitals (in which I have followed modern usage), as he puts them quite at random, sometimes even writing a small letter after a full stop, he makes no distinction between the capital and the small *r*.

I have frequently inserted a hyphen where it facilitates comprehension, though Defoe never uses it. The apostrophe is often employed in abbreviations in the

MS., but occasionally I have supplied one in conformity with modern custom, as in the Saxon genitive, where Defoe never employs it. Now and then it was necessary to insert a word which had been accidentally omitted, and, though I do not think that in any instance there was room for doubt, all such additions are pointed out at the bottom of the page.

With these exceptions, I have endeavoured accurately to reproduce the original. I have retained Defoe's spelling, curious and faulty though it often is. In many words he is simply following the older method, but this will not serve to excuse his writing *hormony*, *propogate*, and the like, not once only, but frequently, or as often as the words occur; and it is amusing to note that he scoffs at the country gentlemen for not knowing how to spell while laying himself so open to criticism. Blunders in spelling, therefore, I have only corrected where it was evident that letters had been unintentionally omitted or written twice, as *cuumber* for *cumber*, *dengerate* for *degenerate*, *bings* for *brings*; these corrections also have been pointed out at the bottom of the page.

Defoe was very fond of long sentences, and the MS. shows that he frequently inserted additional clauses. long or short, subordinate or otherwise, explanatory or merely ornamental. Thus the sentence often becomes so long that he is obliged to repeat the beginning of it with an "I say"; and even then he seldom scruples to heap fresh superfluities on the others. It is therefore no wonder that he often forgets to complete the original construction, and follows the overflowing stream of his thoughts in a different direction. I need hardly say that I have not altered such passages in order to make his style more grammatically correct, nor have I made changes in any other cases where he builds up his sentences regardless of the ordinary rules of the English language. At the end of the volume I have endeavoured to clear up a few allusions which seemed to require explanation.

It appears, from a passage in the work, that Defoe intended to publish it anonymously; he may perhaps have been conscious that one whose conduct had often been unscrupulous and dishonest could hardly publish a treatise on such a subject under his own name. He begins by adopting the then current acceptation of the word "gentleman" as "a person *born* (for there lies the essence of quality) of some known or ancient family" (p. 13). Then he goes on to praise the nobility and gentry as "the glory of Creation, the exalted head of the whole race" (p. 20), and adds (p. 21), "I have the honour to be rank'd, by the direction of Providence, in the same class, and would be so far from lessening the dignity Heaven has given *us*, that I would add lustre to the constellated body, and make them still more illustrious than they are." The whole book shows that he did not extend the word "gentleman" beyond the aristocracy and rich landed proprietors, among whom he could not, without incurring general ridicule, have classed himself; and he affects, throughout the whole book, to write as a gentleman for gentlemen. He was therefore, by necessity, compelled to conceal his name.

He states on page 151 that he was induced to write the book by the case of a nobleman of ancient family, who deeply regretted his neglected education; but this may be only an invention, as Defoe cannot be relied on in such matters.

I do not propose to give a summary of the whole work, which is not very consistently put together; but I may mention a few points of special interest, while the longish headings of the chapters in the list of Contents will give an idea of the general plan of the work.

From the numbering of the chapters it is evident that the work is not complete, as also from the text ending abruptly in the middle of a narrative. As the last page of the MS. is covered with writing to the very bottom, we might suppose that part of the MS. is lost. But this assumption is rendered doubtful by a note in Defoe's writing on the back of the last leaf. It was his custom to write the number of the chapter on the blank back of the leaf which concluded it, and thus on the back of the last leaf we find *Part II. Chapter I.* It seems probable, therefore, that Defoe broke off here, perhaps interrupted by the mysterious misfortune which darkened the end of his life.

Notwithstanding its incompleteness, the work is valuable on many accounts, but especially for the picture it gives of the country gentlemen of the period. To this subject Macaulay has devoted special attention in the famous third chapter of his *History of England*, and his description has been accused of great exaggeration; but Defoe's book corroborates all his statements, even to the remark that there were many justices of the peace who could hardly sign their names to the *mittimus* which their clerk had drawn up. The curious reader should consult Defoe's own descriptions and remarks, especially pages 57, 58, 65, 66, 89 *seq.*, 237, and the whole of the third chapter, in order to realize distinctly the state of ignorance and coarseness in which the majority of the nobility and gentry still continued to live. To make them ashamed of their want of culture, and to induce them to give their children a better education, is the principal aim (or at least the ostensible one) of the book, as is stated on pages 171, 172. It must be acknowledged that Defoe treats his subject with great dignity. His reasoning is throughout eminently calm and unpretending, nor does he ever assume a harsh or ungenerous tone; and, though he sometimes reads his victim a severe lecture, he never ceases to treat him as a friend, nor does he descend to mean abuse. He leaves on us the impression that he is not merely repeating commonplaces and platitudes, but that he speaks from his own experience and conviction; and, although there is very little method in the development of his argument, he does not fail to bring vigorously home the truths he wishes to impress upon his readers.

The book has, however, still another aim, and one well worthy of notice. In the second part, which unfortunately is not complete, Defoe treats of the *gentlemen by breeding*, and of the increase of their numbers from the ranks of the wealthy merchants. The honour due to trade is a favourite theme in many of his works, and here he pleads the cause of the rich tradesmen with much shrewdness and common-sense. He does not, indeed, claim the name of gentleman for the merchant who has amassed a fortune and bought an estate (p. 257); but he urges that the "polite son," who has received a liberal education, should not be excluded from that honour, and that, in fact, he is admitted into some of the best families in Britain (p. 258). It should be observed that Defoe never attempts to claim the name of gentleman for any professional man, nor for any one on account of his personal merit or character, except in one short passage, where he seems to hold that officers in the army and clergymen are gentlemen by right of their position (p. 46). He admits, in conformity with generally received opinion, that the root of the distinction lies in the possession of landed estates.

Another passage worthy of notice will be found on page 200 *seq.*, where Defoe repeats his famous disguised self-defence, and powerful attack upon the conceited scholar,[1] not quite in the same terms, but in very similar ones, and with even greater force. In both cases the passage is marked by the effective use of the *epiphora*, which consists in the frequent repetition of the bitter phrase, "And yet this man is no scholar!" On page 201 follows a renewed invective against the scholars, which distinctly recalls another passage contained in *Applebee's Journal.*[2] On page 203 he dwells on the distinction between the "man of polite learning" and the "meer scholar"; the former, he says, is a gentleman, and the latter a mere book-case. These and other similar passages show the bitter feeling left in his mind by the scornful treatment he had formerly received from University men.

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[1] See *Applebee's Journal*, Oct. 30; the passage is reprinted in W. Lee's *Life and Unpublished Writings of Daniel Defoe*, iii. 435 *seq.*

[2] Of November 6.

A little farther on Defoe enters more minutely on the question in what true learning consists;—"the knowledge of things," he says, "not words, make a scholar" (p. 212). He recommends the study of history, geography, astronomy, philosophy, and natural science, urging that one may know these things without being acquainted with the learned languages, as there are good translations of all Latin and Greek books of importance. "Thus, men may be scholars without Latin and philosophers without Greek" (p. 215). May any one, he asks, who has the knowledge of philosophy and all the other sciences, be called a man without learning, ignorant, and untaught, or does he not indeed deserve the name of a scholar? (p. 217.) The whole disquisition shows how highly Defoe valued the title of scholar, notwithstanding his previous invectives, and how much he would have liked to bear it. But as the word is generally connected with a meaning different from that which he wishes it to bear, he misses his point, though in other respects his remarks are just and worthy of notice. The same thoughts, springing from the same feelings, are thus expressed by Goldsmith in his *Inquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning*, Chapter IX.:—

"To acquire a character for learning among the English, at present, it is necessary to know much more than is either important or useful. It seems the spirit of the times for men here to exhaust their natural sagacity in exploring the intricacies of another man's thought, and thus never to have leisure to think for themselves. . . . . From this fault also arises that mutual contempt between the scholar and the man of the world, of which every day's experience furnisheth instances."

Locke also had previously pronounced the opinion that "a great part of the learning then in fashion in the schools might be left out from the education of a gentleman without any great disparagement to himself, or prejudice to his affairs." "School learning," as Mr. Quick has, no doubt justly, observed,[1] "was in those days even more estranged from the business of life than it has been since." Thus the protest of Defoe, who looked on life from a practical point of view, seems fully explained and justified.

At the same time Defoe also takes occasion to denounce the practice of teaching in Latin, then general at grammar schools and the Universities, observing that if "science and all the liberal arts" were taught in English, this would greatly help to soon do away with the ignorance of the gentry (p. 208).

The work is written in the classic style which has so often been praised in Defoe. His mastery of language in this late work is still as complete and admirable as ever; the sentences flow in an uninterrupted stream, and the author never seems to hesitate except, as indeed often happens, to return to his proper subject after a digression into which his flood of language has carried him. The most obvious peculiarity of his diction is the tendency to write over-long sentences, and to use as many words as possible; but this excessive copiousness of expression rarely or never destroys the lucidity, or even the simplicity, of his language. He never indulges in the clumsy or grotesque classical constructions which characterized many writers of the previous century, nor in the oppressive quotations from Horace, Virgil, and "their chiming train," upon whom so many others still liked to "draw a bill" (p. 222). His only quotations are taken from Holy Scripture, when his subject suggests, perhaps, an allusion to David or to Solomon's fool. Sometimes his style certainly becomes a little too rhetorical, but not to any offensive extent; and the general impression left on the mind is that his words were allowed to arrange themselves naturally as the course of his ideas suggested. He does not much concern himself with the elaborate balancing of sentences, nor go out of his way in search of choice words and laboriously polished expressions; but the ease and freshness of his style make him delightful to read. Nor does he make any deliberate efforts at wit, though a pleasant *jeu de mots* now and then occurs, as it were, spontaneously; or a happy simile gives poetic elevation to the page. I would instance especially his comparison of the happiness of an ignorant noble to that of a stag in his forest (p. 158), less for the appropriateness of the comparison than for the beauty of the language. It recalls some of the similes in the *Iliad*, where the poet, in elaborating his description, has lost sight of the comparison for which it was begun; and the reader admires the vivid picture for itself rather than for any light which it throws on the original subject.

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[1] *Essays on Educational Reformers*, 2nd edition, Cincinnati, 1888, p. 85.

Defoe tells us himself (p. 219) what his ideal style is; it should be "manly" and "polite," "free and plain, without foolish flourishes and ridiculous flights of jingling bombast, or dull meannesses of expression below the dignity of the subject." Notwithstanding some minor defects, such as the frequent use of "I say," "viz.," "as above," and other like locutions, which are really irritating, we must acknowledge that he succeeds fairly well in attaining his own standard.

The length of the work and the very deliberate evolution of the argument will doubtless deter many readers, and I cannot defend the many superfluous repetitions of the same ideas, which, moreover, are sometimes superficial or commonplace. We should, however, remember that the book was not written for us hasty and fastidious moderns, but for the readers of his own time, who may be safely supposed to have had much more patience, and who had a special love for this kind of literature. Goldsmith remarked (*The Bee*, No. 6), "Few subjects are more interesting to society at present, and few have been more frequently written upon, than the training of youth." In fact, the press teemed, not only with English writings on the subject, but with translations of French, Italian, and Spanish books on education. It is not surprising, then, that Defoe, who always understood the public taste, should have taken up so promising a subject. While former writers had, for the most part, produced only masses of dreary and unrelieved commonplace, he at least excites our interest, though of course his book is not to be compared with such a work as Locke's *Thoughts on Education*.

Defoe has treated the subject in a manner of his own. There are many books, bearing the same title as his, or a like one, which give directions for the education of youth, and in some cases include a compendium of necessary knowledge. Defoe limits his efforts to the exposure of existing mistakes, only rarely suggesting plans for improvement; and his aim is to show that a liberal education is necessary to a gentleman of good birth, and that without it he could not be called a "complete gentleman." In this attempt he lays so much stress on the acquisition of book-learning that he seems to forget the moral elements which form the character of a true gentleman. We should not, perhaps, treat this omission as indicating a fundamental defect of mind in Defoe himself; yet it is significant that on page 274, where he describes a perfect gentleman, the mention of "his mind fortified with virtue and solid judgment against the fopperies and follyes of the age," not only comes last, and as a mere addition to "his agreeable behaviour, his good humour, great stock of common knowledge, his knowledge of several modern languages, and his school learning," but here and in other places, when he makes a brief remark on "the noble and virtuous qualities of a gentle character," he utterly fails to express them distinctly or adequately. He can only be in part excused for this deficiency by the aim of his book, which, it is true, gave his thoughts a somewhat different direction, as he desired to blame the gentry rather for ignorance than for lack of generous character.

There is sometimes considerable monotony in his discussions, from his dwelling too long on some one point; but frequently the argument is enlivened by little stories, dialogues, and amusing anecdotes. In these, Peter the Great (of whom he had formerly written a *Life*) frequently appears, and he quotes sayings of

Charles II., of Queen Anne, and of his well-beloved William of Orange. He also gives anecdotes of the Earl of Oxford, who once compared pedigrees with a newly created peer; of Sir Thomas Hanmer, called *Number Fifty;* of the *Pension Parliament;* and of a petition which had to be reprinted in order to make it intelligible to Members of Parliament, because the numbers in it were given in figures instead of full words. There are even some stories which fill many pages and contain long conversations; they are told in a lively style, and are perhaps the best, certainly the most amusing, part of the book (*cf.* pp. 43–58, 123–141, 151–171, 188–208, 268–275, 276–278). As is his wont, Defoe introduces this latter kind of stories as taken from his own personal experience; but some probably are fictitious. Of course they interrupt the continuity of his arguments; and once he does not even scruple to relate a little story which does not touch at all upon the subject under consideration (*cf.* pp. 151–153); but he is ingenuous enough to confess that he is quite aware of this.

Finally, I will mention a very effective artifice, which Defoe sometimes uses with admirable skill in order to show the absurdity or the meanness of a thing. He sets up a mock defence, in which either the ridiculed person is introduced as defending his own cause, or the author stands up for the person whose folly he wants to expose, and conducts the defence in a perfectly natural and apparently serious tone. In both cases the result is a playful satire, which nevertheless shows the inanity of the cause in all its bareness (*cf.*, for instance, pp. 65–66).

In order to illustrate certain statements of Defoe's, I originally intended to append a number of notes at the end of the text; on second thoughts, however, it seemed more advisable to arrange them in connected order and give them in the shape of forewords. Still, this introduction is not, and does not pretend to be, much more than a mere collection of notices principally intended to throw a clear light on two points, and necessary for a full appreciation of Defoe's works: (1) *The changes in the meaning of the word gentleman*; (2) *The education of the upper classes of England in former times.* As the latter is a subject, or forms part of a subject, which has lately begun to interest not a few people in England, viz., the History of Education; I feel confident that, though my remarks may be imperfect, they will not be thought altogether futile.

The collection of these notices has involved a large amount of work, as the material had to be dug up from a heap of old books, of which only few proved serviceable, and many did not yield any contribution at all. This may seem surprising, as it is well known that all the books on education down to the time of Rousseau—at least, all English books—are concerned only with the bringing up of young gentlemen. But I was less interested in the theory[1] than in illustrating the actual state of education; besides, almost all the books, especially of the sixteenth and the earlier part of the seventeenth century, written as they are by pedantic scribblers, contain nothing but a dull tissue of childish rhetoric. Usually, they all follow the same insipid method, beginning their argument with a Latin or Greek quotation, going on with a lengthy declamatory exposition of its truth, and winding up with the unmeasured praise of some antique hero, Alexander or Cæsar, whom they represent as the paragon of excellent breeding.

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[1] A very useful book on the history of educational theory, in England, is Mr. Robert Hebert Quick's *Essays on Educational Reformers*, 2nd ed., Cincinnati, U.S.A., 1888.

A long list of these books is given in Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica* under the head *Education;* all the better ones will be found mentioned in the present sketch.

History of the meanings of the word "gentleman."

The English words *gentleman* and *gentlewoman* are simply translations of the French *gentil homme* and *gentille femme*, and thus originally meant only a man or woman born of a family of a certain social rank. It may be safely assumed that the Normans who accompanied William the Conqueror brought the terms with them, and that they were among the earliest words translated into English. Dr. Murray tells me that the slips for the *New English Dictionary* accordingly show the word *gentil*, in the meaning of "well born," in familiar use with all writers from about the year 1200; many of the instances are given in Prof. Ed. Mätzner's *Wörterbuch* (*Altenglische Sprachproben*).

By reason of "collateral associations," which always adhere to words, the terms *gentleman* and *gentlewoman* came by degrees to connote all such qualities or adventitious circumstances as were usually found to belong to persons of gentle origin.[1] Thus, mediæval writers frequently urge that without such virtues as "trouth, peté, fredome, and hardynesse, nobody ought to be called a gentleman."[2]

As a matter of course the additional meanings which the two words included, besides the quality of birth, must have varied in different ages according to the changing qualities, morals, and manners of persons of gentle extraction. In the age of chivalry a true gentleman was distinguished, besides his birth, by valour, honour, gentleness and respect towards the fair sex, truth, humility and piety; and knowledge of manly exercises, courteous manners, music and singing, acquaintance with the order of precedency in rank, and ability to carve, were his accomplishments rather than scholastic learning, or even the faculty to read or write.[3] From this it is a long way to the modern definition which I remember to have read in a little American book[4] devoted to the subject, saying "*the truest gentleman is he who combines the most cultivated mind with the most sympathetic and unselfish heart.*"

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[1] I have been assisted in these remarks by Mr. Stuart Mill's discussion on the word in his *System of Logic*, quoted in Latham's ed. of Dr. Johnson's Dictionary, under "Gentleman."

[2] Wright, *Reliquæ Antiquæ*, vol. i. 252. I am indebted for this quotation as well as for other information on the above subject to Dr. Murray.

[3] See Dr. Furnivall's very interesting and instructive account of early English education (p. iv.), printed as introduction to his collection of treatises on *Early English Meals and Manners*, for the Early English Text Society, 1868; and also in the second and third numbers of the *Quarterly Journal of Education*, 1887.

[4] Its title is, *What is a Gentleman?*

It is curious to observe here that in all the instances of mediæval literature where the word *gentleman* is used it either directly refers to a man of gentle birth, or it is accompanied by an analysis of a true gentleman's qualities. The secondary meaning of the word seems in fact to have detached itself from the original one at a comparatively late period ; the corresponding word *gentlewoman* has apparently never had any other sense than that of a " woman of gentle birth," the word used for the secondary meaning being *lady*.

These changes in the meaning of the word are, of course, not merely verbal, but are closely connected with the social history of the times. During the Middle Ages the divisions of rank were strongly marked and firmly maintained. A wide and practically unsurpassable gulf divided commoners from the nobility and gentry. Nobody who was not born gentle would have thought of laying claim to the denomination of a gentleman, evidently for the simple reason that it only signified a man of gentle birth. Younger sons did not then, as they do to-day, form the connecting link between the two classes ; there were no learned professions in which they met with the man of lower birth, as they found ample occupation in the field and at Court. Even in the clergy, which comprised men of both classes, the higher and lower ranks were kept separate.

The few exceptions, where commoners rose to dignity and rank, do not shake the rule, the less so as the particular circumstances which attend them make the distinction only the more conspicuous.

Only at the time of the Reformation did this exclusiveness of the upper classes begin to disappear. Learning henceforth took a different position.

In the Middle Ages, study in all its forms was left as an inferior pastime to a secluded class of people; for in those warlike days a literary education was of little use for the business of life, and consequently enjoyed but little esteem. But when, from the sixteenth century, scholastic knowledge became of great and ever-increasing value, the esteem in which scholars and all professional men were held, increased too, as a matter of course. Then it became a shame to be ignorant, and the writers declare that "learning is an essentiall part of nobilitie."[1] About the same time the petty feuds of the nobility, as well as the great civil wars, ceased; and as younger sons could no longer turn to the occupation of arms alone, they had to resort to the other professions as well. Besides, the splendour of chivalry had disappeared, and this had brought the nobility and gentry a good deal nearer the level of the ordinary man.

This was the time when commoners first raised the claim to being admitted among gentle-folk.

It is very instructive to compare here what the anonymous writer of a little book called *The Institution of a Gentleman*, blk. lr., 1555, says on the subject. The treatise has a special interest, dating, as it does, from the juncture when the social institutions of the Middle Ages had fallen to pieces and the foundation of modern society was being built on the ruins. The author leads with his subject not only systematically, but with a good deal of common sense and ability; and the book was reprinted in 1568 and 1579, and has also had the honour of a modern black letter reprint, in 1839. It distinguishes these three classes of gentle people: those who are called (1) *gentil gentil,* (2) *gentle vngentle,* and (3) *vngentle gentle.*

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[1] Peacham, *Compleat Gentleman*, p. 18.

1. "*Gentil gentil,*" the author explains, "is he which is born of noble kynred descendyng of gentle blud, as son to a duke, an erle, a baron, a lord, or more low, son to a knight, or an esquier, (for these degrees of nobilitie,) having ioyned with hys *gentle* house, *gentle* manners, and noble conditions." Learning is not mentioned here at all; only a good many pages later on the author observes that "for the further ornature and setting forth of hys person, a gentleman ought to be learned, to have knowledge in tounges, and to be apte in the feates of armes. . . . . To suite a gentilman, also sume knowledge in musicke, or to know the use of musicall instrumentes, is muche commendable."

2. "*Gentle vngentle* is that man whiche is descended of noble parentage, and hath in him such corrupt and vngentle *maners* as to the iudgement of al men hee iustly deserueth the name of vngentle."

3. "*Ungentle gentle* is hee whych is borne of a lowe degree, of a poore stocke, or of a lowe house; whyche man, by his vertue, wyt, pollicie, industry, knowledge in lawes, valiency in armes, or such lyke honeste meanes, becometh a wel beloued and hygh estemed man, *preferred then to great office,* put in great charg, and credit, even so much as he becometh a post or stay of the Commune Wealthe, and *so growynge ryche, doth thereby auaunce and set up the rest of his poore line or kindred; they are the children of such one commonlye*

called gentlemen; of whych sort of gentleman we have now in England very many, whereby it should appeare that vertue flourisheth emong vs. These gentlemen are now called vpstartes, a terme latelye invented.

"But this alloweth nothinge the newe sorte of menne whyche are run out of theyr order, and from the sonnes of handycraft men, have obteigned the name of gentlemen, the degre of esquiers, and title of knyghtes. These men ought to be called worshypful vnworthie, for that they have crepte into the degree of worshippe wythoute worthines, neyther broughte thereunto by valiencye ne vertue. Theyr fathers was contented to bee called goodmen John or Thomas, and now they, at euery assise, are clepid worshipfull esquiers, havyng them a lytle donghil forecast to get lands, neyther by their learning nor worthynes achiued, but purchased by certein darke augmentacion, practises by meanes wherof they be called gentilmen; but they be abusiuely so called, by reason *their actes* neuer made them noble.

"Therfore I do exclude and banysh al such out of this booke, of whom it doth not treat.

"These be the righte vpstartes, and not those whyche clyme to honour by worthynes."

From these remarks we may conclude that in the middle of the sixteenth century gentlemen formed still a rigorously exclusive caste, into which, besides persons of birth, comparatively only very few highly deserving men and their descendants were admitted. But at the same time we are told that, besides these, there are others who assume the name of gentleman by improper means, and the great indignation with which the author speaks of the rich merchants who creep into repute, not by noble deeds, but by buying lands and estates, shows that this was then a novel practice. It is also interesting to read what our author observes on the proper callings of a gentleman. He declares that there are four "chiefe offices over others" which it is "most necessary that gentlemen should have the ministration of before any other sortes of persons:" 1. The post of "a manne of law;" 2. Of "a captayne in the warres. To bee a perfect soldier, he says, or captayne in the warres, or to have knowledge in the feates or armes, it is so honourable in a gentleman that there can be nothyng more prayse worthy; 3. Of ambassadoures between kynges and prynces; 4. Of justices of peace in the cuntrye. None but gentlemen should be in these offices. But apart from these there are manye moe offices and roumes fit for gentlemen. To be a customer of a hauen towne, or a bayly for wante of a larger fortune, necessitie hath rather enforsed gentlemen, then their first institution: but that a gentle man be a sercher of sume porte or a sergeant in a citie, it is very vnmete for his institution."

Some of the offices which he recommends to the born gentlemen, were, or soon became, also open to commoners, and this necessarily raised such professional men of humble birth to the higher social position of their colleagues of gentle origin.

The *Institution of a Gentleman* is the earliest book I know of, which testifies to the beginning of those destructive changes and growing innovations which have formed modern society. Never before had it been declared that the name of gentleman was or should be extended to other persons but men of birth. The line of demarcation between gentle and not gentle henceforth is moveable; and in progress of time more and more classes of people claim the honourable name of gentleman. The change, however, is only a very slow one, and, as is usual in cases of such gradual transitions, it is accompanied by a great deal of public discussion. It is superfluous to quote many of the writers, as they agree in all essential points, especially in the praise of learning and virtue. The subject is treated at great length, and not without ability, in an Italian book, called *Nennio,* and written by Sir John Baptista Nenna, which was translated into English by W. Jones, *Gent.*, in 1595. Here a nobleman defends his cause in a way which makes great concessions to the altered spirit of the age. "Learning," he says, on p. 18*b*, "is rather an ornament of nobilitie than cause thereof; it giueth a certain facilitie, or rather a begining, vnto man to become honourable, but it doth not indeede *make* him noble . . . . there wanteth somewhat else, and it is, riches; which are an ornament, or rather a part of nobilitie; which if thou dost conioine with learning, it may be that then I will beleeue that he that posseseth both, is become noble." His opponent —for the book is mainly a dialogue—then shows that true and perfect nobility "consists in the virtues of the minde." But the author recognises the two new causes never acknowledged in the time of chivalry, which may make a gentleman—viz., education and wealth. Although in this treatise, as in *The Institution of a Gentleman*, and most other books, considerable trouble is taken in order to show the reader that "riches are an ornament, not the cause of nobility,"[1] we may take it for granted that in practice rich men were more readily admitted to the name of gentlemen than any other class of society, and that it was they who first and most frequently made their way into the higher ranks.

The first direct mention which I know, of professions giving a claim to that name is in William Harrison's *Description of England* (in Holinshed's *Chronicles*), 1577. He says, in Book III. chapter iv.:[2] "Whosoever studieth the laws of the realm, whoso abideth in the university (giving his mind to his book), or professeth physic and the liberal sciences, or beside his service in the room of a captain in the wars, or good counsel given at home, whereby his commonwealth is benefited, can live without manual labour, and thereto is able and will bear the post, charge and countenaunce of a gentleman, he shall for money have a coat and arms[3] bestowed upon him by heralds, and thereunto, being made so good cheap, be called master, which is the title that men give to esquires and gentlemen, and reputed for a gentleman ever after." A little later on, Harrison remarks that citizens "often change estate with gentlemen, as gentlemen do with them, by a mutual conversion of the one into the other." . . . . Yeomen as well often "do come to great wealth, insomuch that many of them are able and do buy the lands of unthrifty gentlemen, and often setting their sons to the schools, to the universities, and to the Inns of the Court, or otherwise leaving them sufficient lands whereupon they may live without labour, do make them by those means to become gentlemen." I take another passage from Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman*, p. 11: "We may ranke advocates," he says, "and physitians with the ennobled, or no," but "the exercise of merchandize is accounted base and most derogating from nobility." Personally, however, he pleads for the honest merchant.

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[1] H. Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622, 1627, 1634, 1661), p. 10 of ed. 1634.

[2] Dr. Furnivall has edited the work in a condensed form for the "New Shakspere Society" (1876); the most interesting parts of it form also a volume of the "Camelot Series," with the title *Elizabethan England* (ed. by Mr. Lothrop Withington), from which I have taken the quotations.

[3] Shakespere's father received a coat of arms in 1599.

Mulcaster assigns the following order to the four professions which he thinks a gentleman may take up:—(1) The counsellor; (2) the clergyman; (3) the lawyer; (4) the physician (*Positions*, 1581, ed. Quick, p. 202).

The opinion that trade was "wholly inconsistent with a gentleman's calling" (Locke, *Thoughts on Education*, 1693, p. 201), appears to have been more firmly maintained in previous times than in our century. But many writers share Peacham's conciliatory opinion. Addison and Steele take occasion in their writings to satirize those numerous poor younger sons who would rather "be starved like gentlemen, than thrive in a trade or profession that is beneath their quality." Defoe also makes great endeavours in his *Compleat English Gentleman* to show the absurdity of the common aversion among gentle-folk to commerce and trade.

In Mulcaster's days also professional men of low birth still were protested against. Sir John Ferne, for instance, who wrote about the same time, does not recognize any others but born gentlemen. "It appeareth," he says, "that no man can be properly called a gentleman except he be a gentleman of *bloud*, possessing vertue" (*Blazon of Gentrie*, 1586, p. 87). The contrary opinion again appears in Selden's *Titles of Honour* (1631) thus: "Vulgar use now hath so altered the genuine sense of *generosus*, that it frequently denotes any kind of gentleman, either by birth or otherwise, truly enjoying that name, as well as *nobilis*."[1] The reason of these diverging opinions is, of course, that the word already included two distinct meanings.

According to Clement Ellis (*The Gentile Sinner*, 1660, and frequently, p. 10), there was at one time a great danger that the word might assume a very bad meaning: "Never," he exclaims, "honest name was more abused than this of *gentleman;* indeed it is to be feared that having been so long misapplied, it wil at last find the like hard measure with those other once more honest names of *tyrant* and *sophister*, and from a title of honour degenerate into a term of the greatest disgrace and infamy. *It is, indeed, already made to be of no better a signification than this, to denote a person of a licentious and an unbridled life;* for though it be, as 'tis used, a word of a very uncertain and equivocal sound, and given at random to persons of farre different, nay contrary both humours, descents, and merits, yet a gentleman must be thought only such a man, as may, without controle, do what he lists, and sin with applause: one that esteems it base and ungentile, to fear a God, to own a law, or practise a religion." With this we may compare the following passage, which is found in the *Tatler*,

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[1] Both passages are quoted by Mr. Croft in his edition of Elyot's *Governor*, vol. ii. 27.

No. 66: "You see among men who are honoured with the common appellation of gentlemen so many contradictions to that character, that it is the utmost ill-fortune to bear it." The meanings of many words are indeed in a continual fluctuation; they represent in a great measure the character and prevalent opinions of the day, and the same word may signify "good" to-day and "bad" to-morrow.

Throughout all changes of secondary meaning, the primary English idea of a "gentleman," as being the owner of an estate, or one of the owner's family, remained intact; the longer the estate had been in possession of their ancestors, the more illustrious was their birth. The owner of a property so small that he had personally to superintend the cultivation, was a "yeoman," and no gentleman, a distinction not yet quite extinct in some parts of the country.

I will insert here a few short extracts from a little book of Charles II.'s time, which bears the title *The Courtier's Calling* (London, 1675), and is written by an anonymous "Man of Honour"—apparently a man of fashion. The second part of this book is devoted to the object of giving advice to younger sons how to provide for themselves. After observing that, unfortunately, it is impossible for gentlemen to "traffick" (p. 120), he, in the first instance, recommends to enter the army. The next best thing is to "attend a lord"; the master, it is true, will treat them meanly, "will often converse with others, whilst they must stand behind them with their hats off. One can hardly distinguish them in this posture from valets de chambre, and they are sometimes abused like villains.

It is very hard for a poor gentleman to undergo all these grievous disasters." Thirdly, if the young gentleman "perceives in himself a natural disposition to study [divinity, the laws, or medicine], he ought to apply himself thereto." The fourth profession, which the "Man of Honour" recommends quite seriously, is—gambling! He says (on p. 225): "So soon as we have gathered together a considerable stock of money, let us get into the greatest gaming-houses, and hold for a maxime always to attaque the best purses." On p. 227: "Cheating is somewhat (!) infamous, and unworthy of a gentleman, and is not to be endured by any gallant men." On p. 228: "Cheating is very dangerous, and therefore ought always to be avoided."

The comparatively very modern meaning of the word, when used to denote a man of a generous heart, quite irrespective of birth as well as station of life, is pointed out in the *Tatler* (of June 16th): "The courtier, the trader, and the scholar," Steele observes, "should all have an equal pretension to the denomination of a gentleman. That tradesman who deals with me in a commodity which I do not understand, with uprightness, has much more right to that character than the courtier who gives me false hopes, or the scholar who laughs at my ignorance." Probably there are few earlier passages where the word has that noblest of its meanings, than this in Dekker's tragedies:

"The best of men
That e'er wore earth about him was a sufferer,
A soft, meek, patient, humble, tranquil spirit;
The first true gentleman that ever breathed."

It seems to me that such passages are not only very scarce, even after Defoe's day, but they appear to be always accompanied by a special reflection on the character of a "true," gentleman; and I am inclined to believe that the idea of a "gentleman by feeling" is in reality only a creation of the present century. Readers of Defoe's *Compleat English Gentleman* will notice that, though he devotes many long discussions to the question who may be called gentlemen in addition to the gentry and nobility, there is nowhere the slightest indication that in his opinion a man might be a gentleman by virtue of a generous heart and a highly cultivated intellect. According to him, only immense wealth, joined with a good education, can impart the attribute *gentle* to a man of low origin. It will, moreover, be remembered that in Fielding's novels the majority of the gentry exhibit a total lack of those good feelings, tastes, and habits which we are nowadays accustomed to attach to the name of gentleman; and only later, when a great number of the higher classes of society were possessed of those noble qualities which constitute, in our modern opinion, the true gentleman, could other men as well acquire that name by having the same qualities.

The Education of the Born Gentlemen.

1. *Fashionable Contempt for Learning.*
2. *Education at Home.*
3. *Education at Schools and Academies.*
4. *Education at Universities and Inns of Court.*
5. *Travelling.*
6. *Subjects of a Gentleman's Education.*
7. *Manners and Habits.*

The far better education of the born gentleman of the present day, the more careful cultivation of his mind is the most striking feature that distinguishes him from his predecessors, not only in the Middle Ages, but of much later times. Defoe's book reveals the deplorable state of ignorance in which the majority of the gentry still persisted in his day. It is the object of the subsequent pages to throw more light on the subject of his work by giving more particulars on this point from previous and contemporary writers. As the changes in the bringing up of the nobility and gentry from about the middle of the sixteenth century down to Defoe's time are slight and gradual, not fundamental, the historical treatment of the subject does not, I believe, necessitate separate dealing with the education in the different epochs, but a more or less strictly chronological arrangement of the matter seems to be sufficient.

Dr. Furnivall's article on "Early English Education" shows how low the state of learning was in the upper classes till about the time of the Reformation. The chief places of education for the sons of the nobility and gentry then were the houses of other noblemen, especially of the chancellors of the King, where, however, the youths learnt chiefly good manners and courtesy. Lack of book-learning, and even of the knowledge of using the pen, was by no means a disparagement. A little more was learnt in the houses of abbots and at monastic schools, where boys were taught to write, and acquired a tincture of barbarous Latin. But even in 1523 ignorance was still so common that Fitzherbert recommends that gentlemen unable to commit notes by writing should notch a stick to assist their memory

(*Husbandry*, p. 86; quoted by Henry, *History of England*, vol. vi. 648).

1. *Fashionable Contempt for Learning.*

The Reformation, which may be set down as the time when the great advantages of a well-regulated literary training became more generally recognized, found the nobility and gentry very conservative in this respect, as in all others; and even down to the days of Defoe and later, there are numerous signs to show that the highest classes of society persisted in an undue reluctance to adopt an education worthy of their position.

In the year 1531, Sir Thomas Elyot says: "Some [men of noble or gentle birth] without shame, dare affirme that to a great gentilman it is a notable reproche to be well learned and to be called a great clerke, whiche name they accounte to be of so base estymation that they never have it in their mouths but whan they speke anythynge in derision" (10th edition of *The Governor*, by Mr. H. H. St. Croft, 1880, vol. i. p. 99).

The author of *The Institution of a Gentleman* (1555) quotes a proverb—"He shoteth like a gentleman, faire and fur of"—which, he says, is used in a figurative sense "to the disprayse of ignorant gentlemen." Ascham, too, knows of the contempt for learning among the upper classes; he says (on p. 22 of Professor Mayor's edition): "If a father have foure sonnes, three faire and well formed both mynd and bodie, the fourth, wretched, lame, and deformed, his choice shal be, to put the worst to learning, as one good enough to becum a scholer. I have spent the most parte of my life in the Universitee, and therefore I can beare good witnes that many fathers commonlie do thus." Compare also, on pp. 53 and 64.—Peacham, *Complete Gentleman* (1622), p. 31, remarks: "Now adaies, parents [of rank] either give their children no education at all (thinking their birth or estate will bear out that): or if any, it leaveth so slender an impression in them, that like their names cut upon a tree, it is overgrowne with the old barke by the next summer."[1] Swift begins his *Essay on Education* (*Works*, 1841, ii. 290) with the remark that he has come to the conclusion that "education is always the worse in proportion to the wealth and grandeur of the parents." Later on (p. 292) he adds: "I do by no means confine these remarks to young persons of noble birth, the same errors running through all families where there is wealth enough to afford their sons (at least the eldest) may be good for nothing. Why should my son be a scholar, when it is not intended that he should live by his learning?" And again, on p. 291, he reports how once a fashionable officer thought fit to interrupt the conversation of two gentlemen, one of whom was of the clergy; "professing to deliver the sentiments of his fraternity, as well as his own (and probably he did so of too many among them), [he] turned to the clergyman, and spoke in the following manner: "D—n me, doctor, say what you will, the army is the only school for gentlemen. Do you think my Lord Marlborough beat the French with Greek and Latin? D—n me, a scholar when he comes into good company, what is he but an ass? D—n me, I would be glad by G—d to see any of your scholars, with his nouns and his verbs, and his philosophy, and his trigonometry, what a figure he would make at a siege, or blockade, or rencountering!—D—n me," &c. In Defoe's book this fashionable contempt for the study of letters is probably justly represented by the long dialogue between the two brothers on p. 43 *sq.*; here and in many other places he introduces the elder sons and owners of estates as boasting of their ignorance, which they think sits well on their quality.

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[1] Compare also Locke, *Thoughts on Education*, § 90.

2. *Education at Home.*

When the mediæval practice of bringing up boys of good birth in a nobleman's family had fallen into disuse, private tuition at home seems to have become the ordinary course. The tutors were either undergraduates of the Universities who wanted to fill up their time, or young clergymen waiting for preferment, or professional teachers, the last, in all likelihood, mostly Frenchmen. In a wealthy family the tutor was usually one of the salaried dependents, and lived in the house, while in other cases the village parson or schoolmaster came up to instruct the squire's children in private. A passage in Mulcaster's *Positions* (1581) shows that private tuition was the course often adopted even by "the gentleman which flyeth not so high, but fluttereth some little above the ordinarie common" (ed. R. H. Quick, p. 189). Mulcaster, who did not approve of private tuition, recommended that "rich people should keep a private master, and send him with the child to the common school."

Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1581–1648) gives similar advice in his *Autobiography* (ed. Sidney J. Lee,

p. 46): "When children go to school, they should have one to attend them who may take care of their manners, as well as the schoolmaster doth of their learning."[1]

Frequently the private tutors only prepared their pupils for a school, but in other cases for the University, to which they sometimes followed them. Lord Herbert of Cherbury had a tutor till about the age of ten, when he was sent to the school of Thomas Newton, a graduate of both Cambridge and Oxford, and a good classical scholar. He stayed there two years, and was then, at twelve years old, sent to Oxford, to University College (*Autobiography*, p. 37).

J. Gailhard (*The Compleat Gentleman*, 1678, p. 17) says, "The way of some, first to have a tutor at home, then to send the boys to a Free School, so to the University (when they are fit for it), is often attended with success."

In the year 1732 John Littleton Costeker, in his book entitled *The Fine Gentleman*, p. 17, marks out the following course of education for a gentleman's son:—"When the boy is six years old, the first thing I recommend to be done, should be to be well instructed, under the care of a proper master at home, in orthography. That done, and he capable of reading and writing true English, let him be transferred to some genteel academy, where he might be well instructed in the grounds and principles of religion ; . . . . let grammar, Latin, French, be his studies, till he is expert in them ; all which I allow him seven years to compleat, or at least to have made a considerable progress in : these things properly attained, let him be removed to the University, and continue with a strict and careful tutor four years ; in that time, as his judgment ripens, let his genius follow its proper inclination to pursue those studies he likes best."

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[1] Girls also received their education from private tutors. *Cf. Autobiography of Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson, daughter of Sir Allen Apsley*, born 1616 (Bohn's Standard Library, pp. 16–17):—"As soon as I was weaned, a Frenchwoman was taken to be my day-nurse, and I was taught to speak English and French together. By the time I was four years old, I read English perfectly. When I was about seven years of age, I remember I had at one time eight tutors in several qualities, languages, music, dancing, writing, and needlework. My father would have me learn Latin, and I was so apt, that I outstripped my brothers who were at school, though my father's chaplain, that was my tutor, was a pitiful dull fellow."

Many other writers recommend a similar course, but it is evident that some superficial and barely elementary instruction at home was frequently deemed by the parents quite sufficient, especially for the heir of an estate, as in the case of the country squire in *Joseph Andrews* (book iii. chap. 7,) whose education is thus described by Fielding :—" He had been educated, if we may use the expression, in the country and at his own house, under the care of his mother and a tutor, who had orders never to correct him, nor to compel him to learn more than he liked, which it seems was very little, and that only in his childhood, for from the age of fifteen he addicted himself entirely to hunting, and other rural amusements, for which his mother took care to equip him with horses, hounds, and all other necessaries ; and his tutor, endeavouring to ingratiate himself with his young pupil, who would he knew be able handsomely to provide for him, became his companion, not only at these exercises, but also over a bottle, which the young squire had a very early relish for."

From Swift's remarks, quoted above, and from numerous passages in Defoe's book, it appears that a thorough education was only thought necessary for younger sons, who had to make their own way in the world. Locke (*Thoughts on Education*, § 16) says expressly that gentlemen sent to grammar schools only their younger sons, intended for trades. But the son who was to inherit the title grew up in idleness among the grooms and gamekeepers; and if he was taught to read and write a little, it was thought enough for him. Even this modicum of instruction was often forgotten in after-life. It must therefore be borne in mind that what is said, later on, of school and university education applies only in a limited degree to elder sons.

The position of tutors was not an enviable one, and many of them probably deserved nothing better. Accusations against them of ignorance, and even of bad morals, occur as frequently as complaints of the low pay and the little esteem with which they were rewarded.

Elyot, in his *Governour* (ed. H. H. St. Croft, 1880, vol. i. p. 163), exclaims: "Lord God, how many good and clene wittes of children be now-a-days perisshed by ignorant schole-maisters."[1]

In a foot-note, Mr. Croft cites the following passage from Henry Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman* (1634):—"For one discreete and able teacher, you shall find twenty ignorant and carelesse, who, whereas they make one scholler, they marre ten."

Higford (*Institution of a Gentleman*, 1660, p. 591) names three good tutors: "Sir John Higford, who was an eminent man in his country, had for his tutor the famous Bishop Jewel; my father, Dr. Cole, an excellent governor; myself, Dr. Sebastian Benefield, a very learned man, all three of Corpus Christi College, Oxon."

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[1] *Cf.* also vol. i. p. 166.

Defoe calls them "murtherers of the children's morals" (p. 71); and again (p. 87) he repeats that they are "not only the ruine of the children's heads, but of their moralls also."

From Roger Ascham, the learned preceptor of Queen Elizabeth, we learn how much the tutors were paid in his day. He says (p. 20 in J. Mayor's edition): "It is a pittie, that commonlie more care is had, yea, and that emongst verie wise men, to finde out rather a cunnynge man for their horse, than a cunnynge man for their children.[1] They say nay in worde, but they do so in deede. For to the one they will gladlie give a stipend of 200 crownes by year, and loth to offer to the other 200 shillinges."

A similar passage is found in Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman* (1634), p. 31: "Such is the most base and ridiculous parsimony of many of our gentlemen (if I may so terme them) that they can procure some poore Batcheler of Arts from the Universitie, to teach their children to say Grace, and serve the cure of an impropriation, who wanting meanes and friends, will be content, upon the promise of ten pound a yeere, at his first coming to be pleased with five. . . . . Is it not commonly seene, that the most gentlemen will give better wages, and deale more bountifully with a fellow who can but teach a dogge, or reclaime an hawke, than upon an honest, learned and well qualified man to bring up their children!"

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[1] *Cf.* also Elyot, *Governour*, i. 131.

Defoe speaks of a salary of £100 as *extremely* liberal (pp. 206 and 213). The same amount was offered to Addison by the Duke of Somerset, who thought his proposal a magnificent one, and wrote thus to Tonson, through whom he made it: "I desire he may be more on the account of a companion in my son's travels, than as a governor, and as such I shall account him." The Duke was much offended that Addison showed no great eagerness to accept the offer, and looked out for another and cheaper tutor.[1]

In further illustration I quote a passage from Swift's *Essay on Education* (*Works*, 1841, vol. ii. 291), as it is contemporary with Defoe's book, and gives a very vivid account of the generally miserable private tuition of his times:

"Another hindrance to good education, and I think the greatest of any, is that pernicious custom, in rich and noble families, of entertaining French tutors in their houses. These wretched pedagogues are enjoined by the father to take special care that the boy shall be perfect in his French, by the mother, that master must not walk till he is hot, nor be suffered to play with other boys, nor be wet in his feet, nor daub his clothes; and to see that the dancing master attends constantly, and does his duty; she further insists that he be not kept too long poring on his book, because he is subject to sore eyes, and of a weakly constitution.

"By these methods, the young gentleman is, in every article, as fully accomplished at eight years old, as at twenty-eight, years adding only to the growth of his person and his vice . . . . the same airs, the same strut, the same cock of his hat, and posture of his sword (as far as the change of fashion will allow), the same understanding, the same compass of knowledge, with the very same absurdity, impudence and impertinence of tongue.

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[1] W. J. Courthope's *Life of Addison*, pp. 52 and 55.

"He is taught from the nursery that he must inherit a great estate, and has no need to mind his book, which is a lesson he never forgets to the end of his life. His chief solace is to steal down and play at spin-farthing with the page, or young black-a-moor, or little favourite foot-boy, one of which is his principal confidant and bosom friend."[1]

3. *Education at Schools and Academies.*

Apart from the religious schools mentioned above, Winchester College (founded in 1373) was probably the only school of importance for the education of the gentry till the foundation of Eton in 1440. A few more endowed grammar schools were added, before the close of the century, to those already existing. But by the dissolution of the monasteries at the time of the Reformation, more than a hundred of the flourishing schools connected with them were destroyed, and great additions to the grammar schools became necessary, which were effected in the course of the next fifty years.[2]

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[1] With this may be compared John Littleton Costeker, *The Fine Gentleman*, 1732, p. 10.

[2] See Warton's *History of English Poetry*, ed. 1840, vol. iv. p. 9; and Dr. Furnivall's Essay, p. lii.

They were mainly founded for citizens' and townsmen's children, but, as they were the best schools in the country, the sons of gentlemen were also sent to them. As an instance I quote the following passage from the *Autobiography of Mrs. L. Hutchinson* (Bohn's Standard Library, p. 46) :—" When it was time for them to go to school, both the brothers [*i.e.*, Colonel Hutchinson, born in 1616, son of Sir Thomas, and his brother] were sent to board with Mr. Theobalds, the master of the Free School at Nottingham, who was an excellent scholar. . . . . Afterwards they were removed to the Free School at Lincoln. But the master was such a supercilious pedant, and so conceited of his own pedantic forms, that he gave Mr. Hutchinson [*i.e.*, the Colonel] a disgust of him. And he profited very little there [p. 50]. Afterwards he was removed from Lincoln back to the Free School at Nottingham, and he was left at board in a very religious house. . . . . Then he was sent to Cambridge."

On pages 16 and 17, Mrs. Hutchinson mentions that *her* brothers also were sent to school. Besides the free grammar schools, there were private schools for the education of gentlemen's sons, at one of which Lord Herbert of Cherbury received part of his education. He had previously been privately taught by a schoolmaster,[1] " the alphabet, and afterwards grammar, and other books commonly read in schools." " On this theme, *Audaces fortuna juvat*," he says, " I made an oration of a sheet of paper, and fifty or sixty verses, in the space of one day." This was before he had attained the age of nine, up to which time he lived " in my lady grandmother's house at Eyton." About the age of ten he was sent to be taught by Mr. Thomas Newton, a graduate of both Cambridge and Oxford, and a well-known classical scholar, who had a school at Didlebury, in Shropshire, where in the space of less than two years he attained to the knowledge of the Greek tongue and logic. At the age of twelve, he went to Oxford.

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[1] See the edition of his *Autobiography*, by S. L. Lee, p. 36 *seq.*

Some of the better schools were called *academies*, and claimed to hold a position intermediate between a University or college and a school; *cf.* the passage from Costeker, quoted above. Distinct from these academies were establishments for teaching special arts and accomplishments, such as riding and fencing. It was to academies of this description that young gentlemen used principally to go when they were sent on the Continent.[1]

Many gentlemen's sons had, as stated above, had a tutor at home before going to school, but some did not receive such preliminary instruction. Henry St. John, Lord Bolingbroke (born 1678), was sent to Eton "as soon as it was fit to take him out of the hands of the women, and removed thence to Christ Church College, in Oxford" (see his *Life* by O. Goldsmith).

The subjects taught in public schools up to Defoe's time, and indeed much later, were almost exclusively the dead languages, Latin and Greek, and in the upper forms, sometimes Hebrew and Arabic.[2] From the writings of Ascham, Mulcaster, Brinsley, Locke, and many others, it appears that this linguistic training was carried on in the dullest possible manner, by means of learning by heart, and writing verses, themes, and grammatical exercises. The results of such training, on average boys, must have been most unsatisfactory to the common-sense of many fathers, who would therefore think such a course scarcely necessary for the heir of a large estate, though they might be alive to the advantages of a learned education for their younger sons, who had to make their own way in the world.

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[1] For these academies, see later on.

[2] *Cf.* Thomas Fowler, *Life of Locke*, p. 170. Three very instructive articles on the subjects studied in the schools of Shakspere's time, by the late Prof. T. Spencer Baynes, to which Mr. Quick has

How common such views were, appears constantly throughout Defoe's book; he endeavours to bring home to the minds of his readers the value and importance of learning, apart from its mere practical usefulness.

The position of schoolmasters seems very frequently to have been even worse than that of private tutors; especially the condition of ushers at private establishments was simply dreadful. Every one knows the passage in the *Vicar of Wakefield* (chap. xx.) which describes the hardships of an usher's life at a boarding school: "I had rather be an under-turnkey in Newgate. I was up early and late, brow-beat by the master, hated for my ugly face by the mistress, worried by the boys within, and never permitted to stir out to meet civility abroad." They had to dress the boys' hair, and to lie three in a bed.

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referred me, were published in *Fraser's Magazine*, Nov. 1879, and Jan. and May 1880. Prof. Baynes gives a long list of the Latin books then commonly used in the six forms of a grammar school.

In the sixth number of *The Bee* (Nov. 10, 1759) Goldsmith published a fictitious letter on the same subject. He says that, though some of the London youth were then educated at free schools in the City, "the far greater number were sent to boarding schools about town." He goes on to remark that "if any man is unfit for any of the professions, he finds his last resource in setting up school;" among such are bankrupts in trade, and even former butchers and barbers;[1] that of all members of society there is "not any more generally despised, or whose talents are so ill-rewarded, though none is more useful or more honourable than a schoolmaster. Their salary is £20." These schools, it may be said, were not the places to which gentlemen usually sent their sons. But we may infer a great deal from such facts as to the condition of the superior teachers.

What we may suppose to have been the opinion about schoolmasters commonly held by the gentry of Defoe's time may be gathered from the language which he puts into the mouth of the mother (p. 7);—that it is the *mother*, and not the ruder father, perhaps gives additional significance to the words:—"Shall *my ſon* be ſent to ſchool to ſit bare-headed and ſay a leſſon to ſuch a ſorry diminutiv raſcall as that, be brow beaten and hector'd and threaten'd with his authority and ſtand in fear of his hand! *my ſon!* that a few yeares after he will be glad to cringe to, cap in hand, for a dinner! no, indeed, *my ſon* ſhall not go near him. Let the Latin and Greek go to the D—l. *My ſon* is a *Gentleman*, he ſha'n't be under ſuch a ſcoundrel as that."

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[1] Readers will remember that Mr. Partridge, in *Tom Jones*, while he was still parish schoolmaster, added to that office those of a clerk and a barber. He had married a wife out of Mr. Allworthy's kitchen for her fortune—viz., £20. The village schoolmaster from whom Goldsmith received his early education had served as quarter-master in an Irish regiment through the campaigns of Marlborough.

A hundred and fifty years before Goldsmith's day even first-class teachers received still less than £20.[1] Mulcaster, the first head-master of Merchant Taylors' School (1561–1596), was paid £10, the same amount as each of his three ushers; however, Mr. Hills, the Master of the Company to whom the school belonged, undertook to double Mulcaster's £10 out of his own pocket. When Mulcaster, after this grant had ceased, applied to the Company for an increase of salary, his very reasonable request was refused.[2]

Discipline was very rigorous at schools in Defoe's time, and long before, as is shown by many authorities. In 1531, Elyot complains of the cruelty of schoolmasters (*The Governour*, ed. H. H. St. Croft, 1880, i. 50). Ascham tells us, in the Preface to his *Scholemaster*, that he was induced to write the book by hearing "that divers scholars of Eton had run away from the school for fear of beating." While Ascham speaks strongly against corporal punishment, it is advocated by Mulcaster (in his *Positions*, ed. Quick, p. 274): "The Maister therefore must have in his table a catalogue of schoole faultes, beginning at the commandementes, for swearing, for disobedience, for lying, for false witness, for picking, and so thorough out; then to the meaner heresies, trewantry, absence, tardies, and so forth. . . . . Which in all these I wish our maister to set down, with the number of stripes also, immutable though not many." He even appointed boys who had to inform their master of the misdemeanours of the others (p. 275). In a subsequent passage (p. 279), he affirms that "myselfe have had thousands under my hand whom I never bet, neither they ever much needed; but if the rod had not bene in sight, and assured them of punishment if they had swarved to much, they would have deserved."

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[1] The difference in the value of money then and now must be recollected. Bishop Latimer, in one of his sermons (*temp.* Edward VI.) recommended that Melanchthon, if he came to England, should be granted a pension of £40 a year, which he evidently thought handsome for a man of European reputation.

[2] Taken from Mr. Quick's Appendix to his edition of Mulcaster's *Positions*, pp. 301, 302.

Locke is another writer who denounces the use of the rod, which he says is the only instrument of government that tutors generally know, or even think of (*Thoughts on Education*, § 47). Even in the Universities corporal punishment was in use. Milton is said to have been flogged when at Christ's College, Cambridge. The latest instance is reported in 1667, in the Admonition Book of Emmanuel College.[1] At a later date Dr. Johnson bears witness to the great severity exercised at Lichfield School, where he was educated. It is not perhaps surprising that such treatment was thought unworthy the future representative of an ancient family, an opinion repeatedly expressed in Defoe's book. But it seems to have been not uncommon to treat gentlemen's sons with exceptional leniency. J.

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[1] *Cf.* Mark Pattison's *Life of Milton*.

Gailhard, *The Compleat Gentleman* (1678), p. 17, says: "In some schools, he [*i.e.*, the gentleman's son] will neglect his book, and fall into a disorderly course of life, often running to and fro, which some masters will wink at for their interest, to perpetuate them in the school." And Swift tells us in his *Essay on Education* (*Works*, 1841, p. 292) that "they [*i.e.*, the gentlemen's sons] were not suffered by their careful parents to stay [at school] about three months in the year."

4. *Education at the Universities and Inns of Court.*

Defoe complains, on p. 55, that so few elder sons were sent to the universities; of 30,000 families of noblemen and gentlemen of estate which might be reckoned up in the kingdom, he says there are not 200 eldest sons at a time to be found in Oxford and Cambridge, whilst there are ten times that number of younger sons. For the heir, it was considered to be more becoming to remain at home and to grow up in ignorance and idleness. Lord Herbert of Cherbury, though he recommends that also eldest sons should go to the University, does not approve for them "that course of study which is ordinary used in the University, which is, if their parents perchance intend they shall stay there 4 or 5 years, to employ the said time as if they meant to proceed Masters of Art and Doctors in some science: for which purpose, their tutors commonly spend much time in teaching them the subtleties of logic, which, as it is usually practised, enables them for little more than to be excellent wranglers, which art, though it may be tolerable in a mercenary lawyer, I can by no means commend in a sober and well-governed gentleman."[1]

Though formerly boys were generally sent to the University earlier than nowadays the sons of the aristocracy frequently went to college before they had even entered their teens.

Lord Herbert of Cherbury (born 1581) was twelve years old when he entered University College, Oxford. H. Peacham, in his *Compleat Gentleman* (1634), p. 33, says: "Many parents take their children from schoole, as birds out of the nest, ere they bee flidge, and send them so young to the Universitie, that scarce one among twenty prooveth ought." Clement Ellis, *The Gentile Sinner* (1661), p. 25, blames parents for the same mistake: "But the hopefull youth must be a gentleman, and in all hast he must be sent to see the University or Innes of Court; and that before he well knowes what it is to go to school."[2] Thus it often became necessary to send a special governor or tutor with boys to the University. This is recommended by Lord Herbert, in his *Autobiography*, p. 47: "When the young gentleman shall be ready to go to the University, it will be fit also his governor for manners to go along with him." Swift is very hard on those (French) tutors who, he says, "attend their pupils to their college to prevent all possibility of their improvement" (*Essay on Education*, p. 292.) "And thus," he continues, "they learn nothing more than to drink ale and smoke tobacco." Clement Ellis is of the same opinion in this matter. He observes, in his *Gentile Sinner* (1661), pp. 25-27: "The father keeps the governor (as he doth all things else) for fashion's sake. Such an one who may serve at least, as poore boyes do in some princes' Courts to sustain the blame of the young gentleman's miscarriages, and whom the father may chide and beat when the son is found in a fault. . . . . The son curses his tutor by the name of Baal's priest, and sells more bookes in half an houre than he had bought him in a yeare. . . . . Thus the young gentleman continues, perhaps, a yeare or two [at the University], if he have no mother upon whom he must bestow at least 3 parts of that time in visits. . . . . And now it is time he should be hasten'd away to some Inne of Court, there to study the Law as he did the Liberall Arts and Sciences in the Colledge. Here his pretence is to study and follow the Law, but it's his resolution never to know or obey it (p 27). . . . . Here indeed he learnes to be (in his notion of the man) somewhat more a gentleman then before, having now the mock-happinesse of a licentious life, and a manumission from the tyranny (as he termes it) of a schoolmaster and tutor."

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[1] In his Autobiography, ed. Lee, p. 48.

[2] The proper age for leaving the University in Goldsmith's time was twenty-one years, when the first degree was generally taken, four years after matriculation; *cf.* chap. xiii. of his *Inquiry into the Present State of Learning.*

5. *Travelling.*

According to Locke (*Essay on Education*, § 212), travelling was "commonly thought to finish the work of education and to complete the gentleman." The ordinary time of travel was from 16 to 21, but for the sake of the young gentleman's morals, Locke thinks it fittest for him to be sent abroad, "either when he is younge, under a tutor, or when he is some years older, without a governor, when he is of age to govern himself." The majority of the country gentry, though, probably did not travel; and Defoe remarks, in a deleted note on fol. 14, *back*, "that whilst the younger brothers were sent abroad, the eldest son was thought not to be in need of it."

The countries ordinarily visited were Italy, France, Spain, Germany, and the Netherlands, but more especially the former two, which were then in the forefront of civilization or, perhaps, more strictly speaking, civility. Till the seventeenth century Italy and Provence held the very first rank, and then gradually lost their place to France. The great dependence of English manners and fashions on those foreign countries is at once apparent from the numerous translations of Italian, Spanish, and French books on civility, education, manners, and similar subjects.[1]

A very interesting account of how young gentlemen used to spend, or rather should spend, their time during their travels, is given in a book already mentioned above, viz., *The Compleat Gentleman, or Directions for the Education of Youth, as to their Breeding at home and travelling abroad, by J. Gailhard, Gent.*, 1678 and 1684. The author knew the subject from personal experience, as he had himself been much abroad as the tutor of gentlemen.

On page 7, he remarks that "because young gentlemen are hardly capable to benefit themselves, they take a governor, or companion with them." However, "some [parents] send their sons without governors . . . . because some young men think it a discredit to them to have a governor."

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[1] For titles of such books see Watts' *Bibliotheca Britannica*, s.v. *Education;* from some of them extracts are given in this Introduction.

Gailhard's advice is to take an experienced tutor, not one who has never been abroad himself and does not know foreign languages, but seeks only for an opportunity of travelling at the cost of others. But some fathers, "who are willing to spend three or four hundred pounds, more or less, will be unwilling to gratify a governor with £20 or £30 more than they have a mind to allow." This, however, is saving in the wrong place. The principal qualities requisite in a good governor are, according to Gailhard: (1) He must be a scholar, (2) a traveller, (3) he must be "gentle, well brought up himself; he must have seen the world, and frequented the courts, and (4) he must be communicative, not dull or silent."

On page 31, Gailhard recommends letters of credit as preferable to bills of exchange, and advises travellers always to carry a good sum of ready money in their pockets; for "what, if when I am walking in the street, I am unhappily forced, or suddenly engaged in my own defence, or of a friend, to draw, and wound, or kill a man, which thing is not impossible, what would become of me, if I had no monies to get on horse-back, and be gone?"

Well provided with letters of recommendation, and having left England, "the governor will carry his pupil to Paris [p. 33], where he ought to show him some of the chief fair houses, and other curiosities in or about that city. He must wait upon the Lord Embassador, and in case there be no inconvenience, what other English persons of the highest quality are there. He will also do well to go, if he makes but a short stay in Paris, at least once to Charenton, to the Protestant Church there, whether or not he understands the language, to give God thanks for his protection so far."

It appears that the Englishmen who travelled for the sake of instruction used to live at *Pensions* and *Auberges*, or resided in *Academies*. Gailhard does not think it advisable for the tourists to make a long stay in Paris at the beginning of the journey, but recommends that they should settle at such a place as Orleans, Blois, Saumur, or Angers; which latter, to his mind, ought to have the preference; why, he does not say.

Here (p. 35), "the first thing you do must be to carry your letters of commendation," and then "to desire your landlord to go with you, or give you some rational man to carry you to see the town."

P. 38: "If there be any princes, though strangers, or embassadors, residents, etc., you may enquire whether they like to receive such visits as yours may be; you may desire those you are recommended to, to procure you the honour of kissing their hands." P. 46: "The young gentleman must soon set to work, and begin the different important excercises to which he has to apply himself." For besides studying the language of the country, he has, first of all, to learn dancing. Gailhard mentions the *Branle*, the *Gavote*, the *Courante*, and the *Borée*, as dances then in vogue. P. 49: In these dancing lessons the pupil must also be taught "how to come in or go out of a chamber where is company; he must be taught how to carry his head, his hands, and his toes out, all in the best way." Next comes fencing, which "is now accounted a necessary excercise" (p. 49). The pupil has, moreover, to learn, to ride the Great Horse at an "Academy." P. 52: Besides, he recommends running, wrestling, and leaping though "these are not so material as the forenamed." "A gentleman will also do well to learn vauting, trailing the pike, spreading colors, handling the halbard, or the two-handed sword. Also it will not be amiss to learn to play upon an instrument or other, of musick; as the lute, gittar, or violin."

P. 54: At the same time he has to make himself acquainted with "the use of the map and the use of the terrestrial globe, as well as with the science of Mathematicks and with Chymistry."

On page 56, Gailhard remarks, "If a traveller hath time, and happens to be in a convenient place, as may be Padoa, Montpellier, or other, it would be in him a commendable curiosity to learn something in Physick not to be a doctor of, or to practise it, only to be able to understand the grounds of it."

P. 57: At other places, "perhaps at Orleans and Angers, where are publick schools of the Civil Law, he will do well to get one of the doctors, or professors thereof, to read it to him, which he will do privately in his own house; or, perhaps, if you be a man of high quality, come to your lodging." P. 58: "And perhaps there will be time and opportunity for the young gentleman to learn to draw pictures." And last of all, "let him not neglect to see, and if possible to get some skill in ancient and modern curiosities, whether pictures, statues of brass, marble, alabaster, &c., medals, and other fair and curious things."

For the whole tour, the author of this curious work —which gives more details than a dozen of the usual kind of books on such subjects—allows 3 years, which he recommends should be divided in the following way :—The first 18 months are put down for France, the next 9–10 for Italy, then 5 for Germany and the Low Countries, after which the tour should be wound up with a stay of 4 or 5 months in Paris.

Travelling was often expected to make up for the neglected training of previous years, as in the case of the young squire in *Joseph Andrews* (book iii. chap. vii.) who has already been mentioned as a typical specimen; he was sent abroad at the age of 20, when "his mother persuaded him to travel for 3 years, which she imagined would well supply all that he might have learned at a public school or university. . . . . He returned home well furnished with French clothes, phrases, and servants, with a hearty contempt for his own country, especially what had any savour of the plain spirit and honesty of our ancestors."[1]

The great dangers to the morals of young travellers are frequently mentioned as a warning to conscientious parents. Ascham, in his *Scholemaster* (p. 69, ed. Mayor), strongly denounces travelling as "mervelous dangerous for morals and faith," unless the youths were put under the supervision of a tutor; for "an Italianate Englishman is a devil incarnate," as the Italians themselves said. His warning is repeated in even stronger terms by William Harrison, in *A Description of England* (1577, book iii. chapter iv.): "This nevertheless is generally to be reprehended in all estates of gentility, and which in short time will turn to the great ruin of our country, and that is, the usual sending of noblemen's and mean gentlemen's sons into Italy, from whence they bring home nothing but mere atheism, infidelity, vicious conversation, and ambitious and proud behaviour, whereby it cometh to pass that they return far worse men than they went out." Brinsley (*Ludus Literarius*, 1612, p. 229) is aware of the same objections, but recommends going abroad. Peacham (*Compleat Gentleman*, 1634, p. 33) declares that, instead of learning anything or improving their manners, the young gentlemen generally come back "ten times worse." Lord Cowper, on his deathbed, ordered that his son should never travel. His injunction was based on a good deal of observation on the effects of foreign journeyings. He had found that there was little to be hoped, and much to be feared, from travelling.[1] It seems that young travellers had not only to guard themselves against the vicious examples on the part of natives of foreign countries, but were tempted by the extravagant fashions of their own countrymen who had settled abroad. This appears, for instance, from Goldsmith's remarks, in his *Inquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning*, chap. xiii., where he says: "In all the great towns of Europe there are to be found Englishmen residing either from interest or choice. These generally lead a life of continued debauchery: such are the country-men a traveller is likely to meet with.

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[1] *Cf.* also Costeker, *The Fine Gentleman* (1732), p. 22.

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[1] Quoted in W. J. Courthope's *Life of Addison*, p. 40.

This may be the reason why Englishmen are all thought to be mad or melancholy by the vulgar abroad. Their money is giddily and merrily spent among sharpers of their own country."

6. *Subjects of a Gentleman's Education.*

This question has already been touched on here and there in the preceding sections, but I propose to add now some fuller particulars. It should, however, be kept in mind that the following extracts only state what young gentlemen ought to learn, not what they commonly did learn.

The author of *The Institution of a Gentleman* (1555) names "knowledge in tounges, and in the feates of armes," and "sume knowledge in musike" as necessary for a gentleman.

Mulcaster, *Positions* (1581), enumerates the following accomplishments which a gentleman ought to possess "for his credit and honour, besides necessarie uses"—viz., "to *reade*, to *write*, to *draw*, to *sing*, to *play*, to haue *language*, to haue *learning*, to haue *health*, and *activitie*, nay euen to professe *Diuinitie*, *Lawe*, *Physicke*, and any trade else commendable for cunning."

William Kemp, the author of *The Education of Children*, blk. lr., 1588, names (1) Grammar, "which handleth diuers languages, as English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and such others;" the pupil should begin with the study of Latin, and only in case he was intended to be a scholar should he go on with Greek;

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[1] Modern edition by Mr. Quick, p. 206.

(2) "Logike and Rhetorike;" (3) "Arithmetike and Geometrie, or any other arte."

Henry Peacham (1622) gives this list of subjects in which a noble gentleman should be instructed:—Style (which has to be practised after Latin and English models),[1] History, Cosmographie, Geography, Geometry, Poetry, Musicke, Antiquities (Statues, Inscriptions, Coynes), Drawing, Limning, Painting, Blazonry, Armory.[2] For bodily exercise he recommends "coiting, throwing the hammer, sledge, and such like; running, jumping, leaping, and wrestling."

It will be observed that none of these writers mentions any *modern* foreign languages. The reason is that they were not considered as "learning" in those days, and that, if they were acquired, it was not so much by study as by practically conversing with foreign masters.

Lord Herbert of Cherbury (*Autobiography*, ed. Lee, p. 46) recommends the following course of studies for a gentleman's son:—

Before going to a University he ought to learn Greek and Latin and other languages. The first six months at the University should be devoted to a little logic, the following year to both the grounds of the Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy, and to reading Severinus, Franciscus Patricius, and Telesius. After which the young student has to take up geography, arithmetic, and geometry "in some good measure" (p. 52). Besides, "it will become a gentleman to have some knowledge in medicine, especially the diagnostic part. . . . . This art will get a gentleman not only much knowledge, but much credit. . . . . It will become him also to know not only the ingredients, but doses, of certain cathartic or purging, emetic or vomitive medicines (etc.). . . . . Besides, I would have a gentleman know how to make these medicines himself, and afterwards prepare them with his own hands." Moreover, Lord Herbert (p. 57) conceives it is a fine study, and worthy a "gentleman, to be a good botanist." And he (p. 59) "no less commends the study of anatomy." And last (p. 65), "it would be fit that some time be spent in learning rhetoric." Concurrently with these intellectual studies, the young gentleman is to learn riding the great horse,[1] fencing, dancing, and swimming (p. 68).

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[1] As Latin authors to be read at the University, he names Tully, Cæsar, Cornelius, Tacitus, Titus Livius, Quintus Curtius, and Sallust; besides, the young gentleman might read Greek as well.

[2] On this subject Peacham wrote a special book, *The Gentleman's Exercise*, 1634.

On previous pages Lord Herbert has given an account of his own education, which I have already quoted in part above. At twelve years old his parents "thought fit to send him to Oxford to University College," where he remembers "to have disputed at his first coming in logic, and to have made in Greek the exercises required in that college oftener than in Latin." P. 42: "During this time of living in the University or at home, he did, without any master or teacher, attain the knowledge of the French, Italian, and Spanish languages, by the help of some books in Latin or English translated in those idioms, and the dictionaries of those several languages. He attained also to sing any part at first sight in music, and to play on the lute with very little or almost no teaching."

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[1] As to this art, see Mr. Lee's foot-note.

Lord Herbert was a little vain, and proud of his learning and other accomplishments; and probably there were very few—possibly none—of his rank who knew as much as he did.

J. Gailhard (1678) recommends not only Latin and Greek, but Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, and Arabic for the study of young gentlemen.

His great contemporary, Locke, does not go so far in his estimate of the dead languages (*Thoughts on Education*, § 195). "Latin and French," he says, "as the world now goes, is by every one acknowledged to be necessary;" but he is inclined to leave Greek altogether to professed scholars. Besides, he wants the young gentleman to acquire the knowledge of minerals, plants, and animals, arithmetic, geometry, geography, astronomy, chronology, anatomy, ethics, and civil and common law; but he does not seem to think much of the refining influences of the arts. As corporal accomplishments, he mentions dancing, fencing, wresting, riding, and one or more manual trades.

On page 17 of his *Fine Gentleman* (1732), Costeker gives a scheme of what he understands by a "regular, useful, and polite education." At six years of age the boy should be put "under the care of a proper master at home, in order to be well instructed in orthography. . . . . Afterwards let him be transferred to some genteel Academy, where he might be well instructed in the grounds and principles of religion, grammar, Latin, and French; all which I will allow 7 years to compleat. . . . . Then let him be removed to the University, and continue with a strict and careful tutor 4 years. In that time let his genius follow its proper inclination to pursue those studies he likes best, either Law, or, if he likes languages, Latin, Greek, French, and Italian; or Divinity, or Moral Philosophy, or Natural Philosophy." Besides, he should acquire these accomplishments: Geometry, geography, chronology, history, music, dancing, fencing, riding, optics, architecture, and algebra. Travelling ought to complete the education.

It will be interesting and instructive to compare with the above schemes a list of the books which an anonymous University tutor recommends to the ordinary student, in a pamphlet entitled *Advice to a Young Student, with a method of Study for the 4 first years at the University* (London, 1730):—

I. BOOKS TO BE READ IN THE FIRST YEAR.—(*a*) *Philosophical:* Wells's Arithmetic, Euclid's Elements, Burgersdicius's Logick, Wells's Geography, Wells's Trigonometry, Newton's Trigonometry. (*b*) *Classical:* Terence, Xenophontis Cyri Institutio, Tully's Epistles, Phaedrus's Fables, Lucian's Select Dialogues, Theophrastus, Justin, Cornelius Nepos, Dionysius's Geography. (*c*) *Religious:* Sermons of Sharp, Calamy, etc.

II. SECOND YEAR.—(*a*) Wells's Astronomy, Locke's Human Understanding, De la Hire's Conic Sections, Whiston's Astronomy, Keil's Introduction, Cheyne's Philosophical Principles, Rohaulti Physica. (*b*) Causin de Eloquentia, Vossius's Rhetorick, Tully's Orations, Isocrates, Demosthenes, Cæsar's Commentaries, Sallust, Hesiod, Theocritus, Ovid's Fasti, Vergil's Eclogues. (*c*) Tillotson's Sermons.

III. THIRD YEAR.—(*a*) Burnet's Theory, Whiston's Theory, with Keill's Remarks; Wells's Chronology, Beveridge's Chronology, Whitby's Ethicks, Pufendof, Grotius. (*b*) Homer's Iliads, Virgil's Georgicks, Virgil's Aeneids, Sophocles, Horace, Euripides, Piers's Edit., Juvenal, Persius. (*c*) Other Sermons.

IV. FOURTH YEAR.—(*a*) Baronius's Metaphysics, Newton's Opticks, Whiston's Praelectiones, Physica Mathematica, Gregory's Astronomy. (*b*) Thucydides, Livy, Diogenes Laertius, Cicero's Philosophical Works. (*c*) Other Religious Books.

In reading the books from which extracts have just been quoted—leaving out Locke, who, indeed, sets little store by learning—we almost invariably find that the only, or at least the principal, aim of education is represented as consisting in the mere acquisition of a more or less extensive store of useful and useless knowledge. Thus occasionally even Chaldaic, Syriac, and Hebrew are thought fit to take a place in the course of a young gentleman's education.

Probably owing to a widely spread indifference to the learning of the schools, the majority of the writers indulge in unmeasured praise of what they are desirous to make acceptable to their reluctant readers. And this may explain, and in some measure excuse, the one-sided judgment which their books exhibit. But it seems that scholastic knowledge was never so much overrated as in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, at least by educational writers; nor do scholars ever appear to have prided themselves so much on their book-learning. Locke is the first great writer who, emancipating himself from the scholastic traditions, distinctly and emphatically subordinates the possession of learning to nobler qualities, and makes the acquisition of knowledge subservient to the higher aim of developing the moral side of man (*Thoughts on Education*, § 147).

That the ordinary course of education, consisting, as it almost entirely did, in a dreary study of the dead languages, was commonly thought unsatisfactory, is evident from the great number of proposals for reform made in those times. It was also generally acknowledged that the received method was particularly unfit for the training of young gentlemen. It was Locke's opinion that a great part of the learning then in fashion in the schools was not "worth a gentleman's while," and that it might be omitted "without any great disparagement to himself or prejudice to his affairs." Under such circumstances, it does not seem very strange that so many of the gentry and nobility scorned the scholar and hated the schools, and that very few of them were great proficients in book-learning. What the general opinion of the education fit for a well-bred gentleman was, may be gathered from the description which Sir R. Southwell gives of the accomplishments of Lord Ossory, son of the first Duke of Ormonde (about 1650): "He rides the great horse very well, is a good tennis-player, fencer, and dancer. He understands music, and plays on the guitar and lute; speaks French elegantly, reads Italian fluently, is a good historian, and so well versed in romances that if a gallery be full of pictures or hangings, he will tell the stories of all of them that are described."[1]

7. *Manners and Habits.*

Dr. Furnivall has given, in his *Babees' Book*, numerous and very interesting particulars concerning the manners, especially at table, of the upper classes at the close of the Middle Ages. In the old treatises on courtesy printed in his volume are very many precepts which, though they were probably useful and necessary when the books were written, seem extremely superfluous and ridiculous to our modern mind; it is, therefore, surprising to find so many of them in books written 200 or 300 years later.

In J. Gailhard's book, *The Compleat Gentleman* (1678 and 1684), we meet with the following odd directions intended for young noblemen and gentlemen[2] who are going to France:—P. 67: "Forks are a neat invention, therefore to be used to avoid greasing hands, with laying them upon the meat." The young gentleman is requested "to make clean his spoon before he puts it in the dish, after he hath taken it out of his mouth. Sometimes," the author says, "I have seen gluttons, and a rude sort of people, who, as soon as a dish is set down upon the table, snap all they can out of it, as if they were afraid to want and starve; . . . . then leaning one or both elbows upon the table, like pigs they hang their mouth over the plate, and, with both hands to the mouth, greedily devour that which so uncivilly they have taken. . . . ." P. 84: "When he is in company, he must forbear talking to himself, muttering between his lips, often spitting,[1] nodding with his head, pointing the finger, leaning on his elbow, crossing of his legs," &c. P. 90: At table the young gentleman "ought to avoid licking his fingers, knawing of bones," &c.

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[1] Quoted by Mr. Sidney L. Lee in a foot-note on page 69 to his edition of Lord Herbert's *Autobiography*.

[2] The author says he had been tutor abroad to several of the nobility and gentry.

I take a few more extracts from another book, which I have had the advantage of using by the kind permission of Sir George Douglas Clerk, Bart., in whose library at Penicuik House a copy is preserved. It bears the title, *The Rules of Civility, or the Maxims of Genteel Behaviour, newly done out of the* 12*th edition in French, London* 1703, and was written for men who moved in fashionable society, not for people in the country. The translator has added several notes in cases where English customs differed from those described in the French original.

P. 95: "You must not hang your head over your plate; you must not drop upon your cravat, lick your fingers, your knife, or your spoon; nothing is more unhandsome than to make clean your plate, or the bottom of the dish, with your finger: to drink out the remainder of the pottage, sawce, &c., out of the dish, or to pour it into your spoon. If your fingers, knife, or fork be greasy, you must never wipe them up[on] the cloth or bread, but always upon your napkin:[2] and to keep your fingers clean, it is the best way to eat nothing but with a fork. If any one at the table has lent you his knife, spoon, or fork, you must be sure to wipe it well upon your napkin, or else send it to the side-board to be wash'd." P. 99: "'Tis not civil to pick your teeth at the table with your knife or fork, or rinse your mouth after you have din'd, if there be persons of quality in the room." P. 91: "If we be to eat out of the [same] dish, we must have a care of putting in our spoons before our superiours, or of eating out of any other part of the dish than that which is directly before us." P. 92: "Having served your self with your spoon, you must remember to wipe it, and indeed as oft as you use it; for some [!] are so nice they will not eat pottage, or anything of that nature, in which you put your spoon unwip'd, after you have put it into your mouth. Some are so curious, they will not endure a spoon to be used in 2 several dishes; and therefore in several places 'tis grown a mode to have spoons brought in with every dish to be used only for pottage and sawce."

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[1] This precept, with additions, is repeated on page 89.

[2] This was necessary, because the knives and forks were not changed.

Among the rules for behaviour while travelling, the author observes, on p. 116: "If in your journey you be constrained to take up your quarters in the same chamber with the qualify'd person, you must give him leave to undress and to go to bed first; and when he has done, you are to strip and go to bed after him, and to lie so as to give him no disturbance all night." P. 117: "It is not tolerable to comb your head in the kitchen [of the inn], where your hairs may fly into the dishes, upon the meat."

There are many more curious and amusing particulars in this little book, but I am afraid it would lead too far to quote more from it.

Nothing is more common in books on the education of young gentlemen than complaints of fashionable bad habits. The foremost is excessive drinking, which was for a very long time in England what it is still too much in Germany, the common amusement of all sorts of people. Brinsley (*Ludus Literarius*, 1612) calls it "the plague of the English gentry" (p. 223); he thinks it was introduced into England from the Netherlands about the time when Sir John Norrice was there. In 1634, Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, p. 9, writes: "To be drunke, sweare, wench, follow the fashion, and to do just nothing, are the attributes and markes now adayes of a great part of our gentry." Again, in 1661, Clement Ellis complains that usually a gentleman "drinks as stoutly as if he meant to carry liquor enough with him in his belly to quench the flames of hell" (*Gentile Sinner*, p. 44).

According to J. Gailhard, *The Complete Gentleman* (1678), part ii., p. 3, country gentlemen used to employ their time with "hawking, coursing, and hunting; with taking tobacco, and going to the alehouse and tavern, where matches were made for races, cock-fighting, and the like; and if a gentleman be not as forward as they are, then he is proud, he is an enemy to good fellowship, and is a man not fit for society; thence dicing[1] and carding will follow, which at last are attended with loss of estates and destruction of families. . . . . Indeed to speak the best of such gentlemen, we use to say, he is an honest country gentleman; that is, often apt to be fooled, who has neither much wit nor experience."

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[1] Dice play is also mentioned in *The Institution of a Gentleman* (1555) as being "no honest pastyme: although it be a game much vsed amonge noble men and gentlemen, yet doth it vngentle them."

An anonymous "Gentleman of the Middle Temple," who, in 1729, wrote a book under the title *The Young Gentleman's New Year's Gift*, expresses himself even in stronger terms: "There is not a more worthless and despicable animal than a true country booby, who, calling himself a country gentleman, spends his life only in eating, drinking, and sleeping; and distinguishes himself in nothing from the brutes, but only that, whereas they keep within the bounds of nature, he prides himself in the excesses of it" (p. 35).

Similar complaints are uttered in numerous other books. One writer is even much distressed that "the custom and fashion of lying has grown epidemical" (*The Gentleman's Library*, by a Gentleman, 3rd ed., London, 1734, p. 204). One cannot, of course, believe everything or everybody. But Locke, too, complained that lying was "very much in fashion amongst all sorts of people." Fielding's novels, also, tell us a great deal about the bad manners and habits, especially of the country gentlemen; they abound in examples of half-educated, brutal squires, who bully their wives and daughters, and drink deep, and curse abominably.[1] In many ways, in fact, as Macaulay has observed,[1] they did not materially differ from a rustic miller or alehousekeeper of our time. If we bear these things in mind, we shall refrain from accusing Defoe of exaggeration, as otherwise many readers might be tempted to do.

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[1] As for the then very common habit of swearing, compare also Defoe's *Essay on Projects*, ed. H. Morley, p. 144; and Clemen Ellis, *Gentile Sinner* (1661), p. 37.

At the end of my task I gratefully and sincerely acknowledge the valuable help kindly and freely granted to me by friends and others. I have already mentioned what share Mr. Francis B. Bickley has in the reproduction of the text; he has also very readily assisted me in looking out several things for the Notes when I was away from London. Dr. Furnivall, Mr. Sidney L. Lee, Mr. R. Hebert Quick, and Mr. T. Widgery have made me acquainted with several useful books; the first two also lent me some rare ones. I repeat my thanks to Miss C. L. Cooper and to Dr. Murray for their kind communications, which have assisted me in my remarks on the word "gentleman." Miss Cooper and my good friend Mr. W. Leo Thompson have taken the great trouble of reading the proofs of the text with me. Both, as well as Dr. Furnivall, have also looked over parts of my MS. of this Introduction in order to improve my English, and have helped me in correcting the proofs of it as well.

I conclude with quoting Mr. William Lee's opinion of Defoe's book; the MS. was then still in Mr. Crossley's possession;—"Mr. Crossley," he says, "would do great service to all lovers of pure English Literature if he could be persuaded to publish this valuable work of Defoe."

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[1] *History of England*, vol. i. chap. iii.

Now that his wish is fulfilled, I hope that readers will share his opinion.

KARL D. BÜLBRING.

VOERDE IN WESTPHALIA,
Nov. 19, 1889.

The Compleat
English Gentleman

Containing

Usefull Observacions on the General Neglect of
the Education of English Gentlemen with
the Reasons and Remedies

The Apparent Difference between a Well
Born and a Well Bred Gentleman

Instruccions how Gentlemen may Recover the
Defficiency of their Latin, and be Men of
Learning tho' without the Pedantry
of the Schools

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INTRODUCCION.

THAT I may begin with the ſame brevity *folio* 3. that I purpoſe to go on with, I ſhall onely obſerv here by way of introduccion that there are two ſorts or claſſes of men who I am to be underſtood to ſpeak of under the denomination of gentlemen :

1. The born Gentleman,
2. The bred Gentleman.

The complete gentleman I am to ſpeak of will take them in both ; and neither of them, ſingly and abſtractedly conſidred, will ſtand alone in the claſs of a compleat gentleman without ſome thing that may be ſaid to comprehend both.

The born gentleman is a valuable man if bred up as a gentleman ought to be, that is, educated in learning and manners ſuitable to his birth. This I muſt inſiſt on as a preliminary, that I may not be cenſur'd and condemn'd unread, and bring upon me a clamour from the numerous party of old women (whether male or female), idolators who worſhip eſcutcheons and trophyes, and rate men and families by the *blazonry* of their houſes, excluſiv of learning or virtue, and of all perſonall merit.

On the other hand, the ſon of a mean perſon furniſh'd from Heaven with an originall fund of wealth, wit, ſence, courage, virtue, and good humour, and ſet apart by a liberall education for the ſervice of his country; that diſtinguiſhes himſelf by the greateſt and beſt actions; is made acceptable and agreeable to all men by a life of glory and true fame; that hath the naturall beauties of his mind embelliſh'd and ſet off with a vaſt fund of learning and accquir'd knowleg; that has a clear head, a generous heart, a polite behaviour and, in a word, ſhews himſelf to be an accompliſh'd gentleman in every requiſite article, that of birth and blood excepted: I muſt be allowd to admit ſuch a perſon into the rank of a gentleman, and to ſuggeſt that he being the firſt of his race may poſſibly raiſe a *roof tree* (as the antients call it) of a noble houſe and of a ſucceſſion of gentlemen as effectually as if he had his pedigree to ſhow from the Conqueror's army or from a centurion in the legions that landed with Julius Cæſar.

Out of the race of either of theſe, the compleat gentleman I am to deſcribe is to be deriv'd. How to reconcile the antient line to this and bring them, however degenerate, to embrace the modern line, tho' exalted by the brighteſt virtue and the moſt valuable accompliſhments of a man of honour, is the difficult caſe before me.

I am reſolv'd however to giv antiquity its due homage; I ſhall worſhip the image call'd antient lineage as much as poſſible without idolatry; I ſhall giv it all the reverence and reſpect that it can pretend to claim, ſearch for all the glories of birth and blood, and place them in full proportion: no luſtre of antient gentry ſhall be ecclypſt by me, onely with this excepcion, that I muſt intreat the gentlemen who are to *f.* 4. value themſelves chiefly upon that advantage, that they will *ſtoop ſo low* as to admit that vertue, learning, a liberal educacion, and a degree of naturall and accquir'd knowledge, are neceſſary to finiſh the born gentleman; and that without them the entitul'd heir will be but the ſhaddow of a gentleman, the opaac, dark body of a planet, which can not ſhine for want of the ſun communicating its beams, and for want of being plac'd in a due poſition to reciev and reflect thoſe beams when they are communicated and reciev'd.

In condicioning for ſo ſmall an advance in the favour of true merit, and inſiſting upon its being, as I ſaid, abſolutely neceſſary, I think we differ upon ſo ſmall a point, that I can not doubt of reconciling it all in the end of this diſcourſe and bringing the blood and the merit together; ſo we ſhall ſoon produce the beſt and moſt glorious peice of God's creation, a complete gentleman; which is the deſerv'd ſubject of the whole work.

I ſhall begin with the born gentleman. I ſhall do him all the honour due to his diſtinguiſht quallity and birth; I ſhall giv him the preference upon all occaſions; I ſhall allow him to be ſuperior becauſe he is prior or ſeignior in blood, expecting nothing of him in return but this trifle onely, that he be *but equall* in merit, not tying him down, no, not to that claim of his quallity that he ſhould *excell* his inferiors in virtue as he does in degree.

In all this I think I am extremely civil to him, and uſe him like a gentleman. I muſt indeed, for his ſervice, ſhew him the miſtakes which were committed among his anceſtors, eſpecially the *Lady-mothers* and the *Lady-aunts,* the introducers of his junior behaviour; thoſe directreſſes in his moſt early yeares who for want of erudition have expoſed him to ignorance and weakneſs of underſtanding and left his head unfurniſh'd and his mind unfiniſh'd, left him loaden with wealth, but unſupply'd with the means of making uſe of it: unguided and unable to guide himſelf, and untaught and, what is worſe, in moſt things unteachable. I ſay, I muſt be allow'd to ſhew him ſome of theſe miſtakes; but this, as I ſhall make appear at large, is not onely neceſſary in the caſe before me, but is very much for his ſervice alſo. Yet in doing this I ſhall uſe him tenderly, treat him perſonally with all poſſible deference and reſpect, and humbly addreſſing him for his own benefit to retriev the loſs, lead him by the hand into the way to do it; ſhowing him how to place himſelf in the rank which God and Nature deſign'd him for, and at laſt deliver him up to himſelf and into his own poſeſſion in the full perfeccion of a gentleman.

If in doing this it naturally occurs that his anceſtors, whether fathers or mothers, or both, or indeed any kinds or degrees of his relacions into whoſe hands he fell and who had the charge of his erudition, were exceedingly in the wrong, and that their ill conduct ſhould be a little expoſ'd in this work, the neceſſity of it will appear ſo evedently that I ſhould be inexcuſable if it were omitted, not ſo much for the ſake of what is paſt as of what to come; not ſo much to reproach them (perhaps in their graves), for that I do not call neceſſary, but to prevent the example ſpreading in thoſe families into a further practiſe; and ſo 'tis for the ſake of thoſe yet in the cradle or perhaps not born. I kno' this miſſfortune of our gentlemen is plac'd to the account of the ſex; that indulgent mothers are charg'd with violently oppoſing the committing their ſons to the conduct of the ſchooles, ſubjecting them to diſcipline and putting them, as 'tis call'd, under the government of their inferiours; inſiſting that 'tis below their quallity to have *their ſons*, for they ſpeak it with an emphaſis and with contempt, corrected by a ſorry fellow of a pedagogue and plac'd under the domineer- *f. 4 b.* ing law of a little ſchool tyrant. "Shall *my ſon* be ſent to ſchool to ſit *bare headed* and ſay a leſſon to ſuch a ſorry, diminutiv raſcall as that, be brow beaten and hector'd and threatn'd with his authority and ſtand in fear of his hand! *my ſon!* that a few yeares after he will be glad to cringe to, cap in hand, for a dinner! no, indeed, *my ſon* shall not go near him. Let the Latin and Greek go to the D—l. *My ſon* is a *Gentleman*, he ſha'n't be under ſuch a ſcoundrel as that."

Now it is true that this is one part of the charge and that ladyes are certainly to blame, becauſe, tho' in this or that place a ſorry inferiour fellow, as they call 'em, may be a ſchoolmaſter, yet a ſchoolmaſter is not an inferior by his office, and in many places we find the moſt venerable, grave, learned and valuable perſons have been plac'd at the head of a Grammer School, in whoſe hands the children of perſons of the beſt rank have been entruſted with ſucceſs and who very well kno' how to govern themſelves in the government even of their ſuperiors, as is the caſe in the great ſchooles of Eaton, Wincheſter, Weſtminſter, Felſted, Bishop Stortford, Canterbury, and others, where the children, nay the eldeſt ſons of ſome of the beſt families in England, have been educated, and that with great ſucceſs ; and yet with all decent regard to the dignity of their birth and to the great ſatiſfaccion[1] of the young gentlemen themſelves ; and I need ſay no more in the caſe than to obſerv the apparent difference in the future conduct and juſt character for their accompliſhment, as gentlemen and as noblemen, between the perſons ſo educated and thoſe who by the force of the female authority, as above, have been thus unhappily robb'd of their educacion.

The difference, I ſay, of theſe is evedent, *the firſt* have been the glory of their country, the ornament of the court, the ſupports both of prince and people ; while *the latter* have been the meer outſides of gentlemen, uſeleſs in their generacion, retreated from the State, becauſe uncapable to ſerv it ; born for themſelves, given up to their pleaſures, as if they came into the world for no other end but to continue the race and hand on the name to poſterity. Their youth is worn out wallowing in ſenſuality, ſloth, and indolence, till wearyed with a life of levity, gayety, and wanton exceſſes they dye, *as it were*, onely to make room for the untaught heir to live the horrid ſcene over again : and thus ignorance and fullneſs of bread is the uttmoſt of the family enjoyments, and they dye thoughtleſs.

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[1] Abbreviated in MS.

But I can not joyn with thoſe who thus load the ladyes with all the weight of this complaint; for were it ſo, (1) the gentlemen would be inexcuſable in ſuffring it, and I can never believ, if the fathers were not conſenting at leaſt and paſſivly yielding to it, the fatal jeſt could ever be carryed on to ſuch a length: they might indeed conſent to the mother's importunity, or, if you will, to her aſſuming and authority, in not ſending *her ſon* to this or that particular ſchoolmaſter upon the points ſuggeſted abov, (viz.) his being a mean fellow. But the father could never conſent without inexcuſable ignorance and folly to the totall ommiſſion of his ſon's learning in generall, and to the breeding him up perfectly illiterate, meerly becauſe his quallity was to exempt him from the diſcipline of a ſchool and from the being ſubject to an inferiour ſchoolmaſter. On the contrary, the father, ſuppoſing him[1] to have any ſence of *f.* 5. the advantages of erudicion and the loſs it would be to his ſon not to be taught, would take care to have him plac'd out to ſuch ſchools as are proper for perſons of quallity to be taught in, and where he would ſee the ſons of gentlemen, equall at leaſt and perhaps ſuperiour to himſelf in dignity, brought up and inſtructed in the ſame manner.

2. It muſt therefore be that, however prepoſterous ſuch a thing may ſeem in the ſence of men of better judgement, and however ſcandalous to their own characters ſuch an unaccountable indolence and neglect of their families really is, that yet the fathers are certainly guilty of it, as well as the mothers; that they come into the practiſe, whether they come into the

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[1] *him* omitted in MS.

weake womaniſh reaſon of it or no; that they look upon learning as a thing of indifference and of no great uſe to a gentleman; that leaving his ſon a great eſtate is enough and makes a full amends for all the pretended defficiencies of the head; that making them ſchollars does but plunge them into politicks, embark them in parties, and endanger their being ſome time overthrown and ruin'd; that the ignorant man is the ſafe man, and he that is not concern'd in the broils of the State is ſure not to be ſhipwreck'd among the ill pilotes and the raſh diſturbers of the public peace. Theſe weak, but willfull reaſonings on the father's ſide joyn'd to the fiery pride of the mother keep[1] the heir at play with his nurſes and pages, till he is too big to go to ſchool at all, and till getting a taſt of pleaſure and a diſguſt at all reſtraint he grows paſt government; and 'tis no wonder that a tutor can do nothing with him but what he pleaſes.

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[1] MS. *keeps*.

THE
Compleat Gentleman.

CHAP. I.

Of the Born Gentleman,[1] *in the Common, or Modern, or Preſent*[2] *Acceptation of the Word, and as the Gentry among us are pleaſ'd to underſtand it.*

Printed sheet, page 1.

BEFORE I enter too far into this nice Subject, 'tis neceſſary, for keeping all clear about me, that I ſhould explain my Terms; that I may have no Diſpute about Words, no Miſts and Fogs to diſperſe as I go on, and may make as few Parentheſes as poſſible to interrupt the reading.

I matter[3] not your long Etymologies and Derivations, nor all the tedious Harangues, whether of the Ancients or the Moderns, upon the Word *Gentleman;* its Interpretation from its jingling with the Word Generous; whether the *Patricii* of *Rome* and the *Generoſi*

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[1] Corrected to *Gentleman born* in a handwriting different from Defoe's.

[2] *or Modern, or Preſent* is struck out, and marked for deletion, by the corrector.

[3] Corrected to *value*, but not by Defoe.

Generoſi of the modern *Italians* were not Synonimous, or which of the two are the moſt significant.

p. 2. It may ſerve in the ſchools for a good *Theſis*, and long learned Diſſertations may be made upon it, that the Word *Gentleman* being inſtituted and legitimated in our Language, as ſignifying a Man of generous Principles, of a great generous Soul, intimates a kind of an Obligation upon thoſe who aſſum'd the Name to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the reſt of the World by generous and virtuous Actions. Thoſe Inferences, however far-fetch'd, preach well, and may have some Place in the *Roſtrum* of the Pedagogues, where the good, well-meaning Inſtructor does his beſt to teach Good-manners to his Scholars, as well as Letters, and to prepare their Minds for higher Reaſonings. But when the Conſequences appear to be drawn from weak if not wrong Premiſes, that Inſtruction will loſe its Energy, and the Inſtructor muſt look out for a better Foundation.

But I muſt place the Object in a differing Perſpective, we muſt ſee it in quite another Light: be it a better or a worſe Explanation, we muſt underſtand it as it is at preſent underſtood, and taking People in their own Way, talk to them of it juſt as they talk of it to us; and ſo, *as the Backſword Men ſay*, beat them out of their Play: and it muſt be done too with *their own Weapons*. In a word, we muſt ſhew them their Miſtakes, and the Folly of thoſe Miſtakes, by the ſame Light which they ſaw them in before, and while they underſtood them to be no Miſtakes.

To take any other Courſe would be waſhing *Æthiopians*, and meer beating the Air; we are all *Spaniards*, or rather *Ruſſians*, in ſuch things as theſe; we scorn to alter *old Opinions*, or *old Uſages*, even when we can't defend them; nay, we don't care to do it, tho' we know we are in the wrong.

I don't wonder at the old *Phariſees* among the *Hebrews*

Hebrews, who ſet up *the Traditions of the Elders,* even *p. 3.* above the *written Law* of *Moſes,* or at the *Papiſts* who rank their oral Fragments of religious Inſtitutions above the *written Goſpel:* I ſay, I don't wonder at them at all, when I ſee our ſelves ſo wedded to Error, and ſo poſitive in Miſtake, that even Demonſtration will not remove us.

Our modern Acceptation of a *Gentleman* then, and that in ſpite of defeated Reaſoning, is this, A perſon BORN (for there lies the Eſſence of Quality) of ſome known, or Ancient Family; whoſe Anceſtors have at leaſt for ſome time been raiſ'd above the Claſs of Mechanicks. If we will examine for how long it muſt be, that is a dangerous Inquiry, we dive too deep, and may indeed ſtrike at the Root of both the Gentry and Nobility; for all muſt begin ſomewhere, and would be traced to ſome leſs Degree in their Original than will ſuit with the Vanity of the Day: It is enough therefore that we can derive for a Line of two or three Generations, or perhaps leſs; ſo that in ſhort, the main Support of the thing, which is Antiquity, and the Blood of an Ancient Race, is a tender Point, and is not without its Defects; but, like a Rope of Sand, if it be ſtretch'd out too far it ſeparates and falls back into the Maſs or Heap of the meaneſt Individuals.

Nor indeed is it poſſible to avoid this Defect, and therefore I wonder our modern Pretenders to the Title of Gentility ſhould lay ſo much Streſs upon what they call a long Deſcent of Blood. I would give it all its due Honour, but don't let us ſtrain it too hard, or run too far into the Search, becauſe we know it muſt dwindle into Diminutives at laſt: all Great things begin in Small, the higheſt Families begun low, and therefore to examine it too nicely, is to overthrow it all.

It is a ſtrange Folly in the beſt of Mankind to Cap Pedigrees; ſince as the talleſt Tree has its Root in the *p. 4.* Dirt; and the Floriſts tell us the moſt beautiful

Flowers are raiſed out of the groſſeſt Mixture of the Dunghill and the Jakes; ſo the greateſt Family has its Beginning in the Throng, and the Search brings it to nothing.

Is it not enough that our Fathers were Gentlemen as far back as we can have any good Account of them? Since they that look fartheſt back muſt loſe their Fathers in the Search, or they will loſe themſelves as to the thing they ſearch for; they muſt ſtop *ſome where*, or they will find themſelves *no where;* they muſt run at laſt into a Beginning that will baulk the Enquiry, and bring them all to nothing, that is to the *Canaille* and to the *mob.*

I remember a Conteſt of this Kind between a certain modern Nobleman and the late Earl of *Oxford* of the ancient illuſtrious Family of *De Vere.* The Earl of *Oxford* valued himſelf upon the Glory of his Anceſtors, their Fame, their great Actions, their Victories in foreign Service, *and the like;* as for his perſonal Glory, the Stream ran ſomething low, and as for his Family it was apparently extinguiſhing with himſelf.

The modern Lord was a Man of Spirit, had ſerv'd Voluntier under the Fountain of Glory *Guſtavus Adolphus*, and behav'd ſo in the Preſence of that true Heroe, as to have his publick Teſtimony of his Bravery; but the other told him he was of no Family, he had no Blood: The modern Lord deny'd the Fact, told him he was of as noble Race as he; came of as good a Family as his Lordſhip, and challeng'd to Cap Pedigrees; and ſo they began.

I am *Aubrey de Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, ſays the Earl; my Father was *Aubrey de Vere*, Earl of *Oxford;* my Grandfather was Earl of *Oxford*, my Great-grandfather was *Francis de Vere*, Lieutenant-General to Queen
p. 5. *Elizabeth;* his Father *Horatio de Vere*, Colonel of Horſe, and ſo back to a long Race; 'till the other

ſeeing him at a ſtand, bid him hold, for it was enough; and he muſt have ſtopp'd a little farther, whether he would or not.

Then the modern Lord began thus, I am *William* Lord ——— my Father was *Lord Mayor of London* and my Grandfather was the *Lord knows who*, and ſo I am of as Good a Race as any of you. Where it is obſervable that in all Enquiries of this kind, after we come a few Ages back and paſs a Heroe or two, the farther we go beyond that, the lower we go; like diſtant Proſpects of the greateſt Object, the farther you go from them the leſs they ſeem, 'till at laſt diſſolving themſelves in Miſt and Cloud, Perſpective fails, and they entirely go out of ſight and diſappear; ſo the greateſt Heroes in the World, and of the moſt ancient Families, if we carry their Names back beyond their proper Diſtance, they diſappear, and are no more to be found.

It is enough then, I ſay, and a Gentleman ought to be ſatiſfy'd with it, if we can trace our Line back as far as our Anceſtors are to be remember'd for great and good Actions; leſt going on to ſtrain the Line too far, we ſink it again below what we would have it be: It is ſufficient to derive from Virtue and Honour, let it ſtand near or remote is not the Queſtion; nor can that Part add to the Luſtre, becauſe there is no Standard of Antiquity ſettled to rate a Gentleman by.

Nor is it yet determin'd, no not in the Jargon of the Heralds, How many Deſcents make the Son of a Cobler commence *Gentleman*, or give[1] an Eſcutcheon of Arms and the *red Hand*, nay the Coronet it ſelf, to a *Plebeian*.

Not therefore to ſearch too far where the thing will not bear the Inquiſition, I ſhall take it as the World takes it, that the Word *Gentleman* implies a Man of Family, born of ſuch Blood as we call Gentlemen, *p. 6.*

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[1] *gives* in printed sheet.

ſuch Anceſtors as liv'd on their Eſtates, and as muſt be ſuppoſ'd had Eſtates to live on, whether the preſent Succeſſor be poor or rich.

Now tho' this Birth, *after all*, is but mean in it ſelf abſtracted from other Merit, yet this I muſt alſo grant, that a Dignity thus raiſ'd at firſt flows in the Blood, that it is handed on from Family to Family, and from Age to Age, by the meer Conſequence of Generation: Nay, I will grant an inviſible Influence of the Blood, if they pleaſe, as if there were ſome differing Species in the very Fluids of Nature; that the Spirits of a finer Extraction flow'd in the Veſſels, or ſome *Animalculæ* of a differing and more vigorous kind which exiſted in the Blood, fir'd the Creature with a ſuperiour Heat differing from thoſe which mov'd in the Veſſels of a meaner and lower Kind of Creature; as the Waters of ſome Fountains and Rivers whoſe Courſe lies thro' rich and fruitful meadows or fertile Plains, or which flow down from Mineral Springs or golden Mountains, have in their Streams more ſecret Virtues, more healing and fructifying Qualities, more golden Sands than other Currents equally large which flow from unhealthy Bogs, mooriſh and fenny Grounds, or barren and ſandy or rocky Deſarts, whoſe Waters are thick and muddy, which impoveriſh the Lands they flow over, and whoſe ſtagnate Waters rather poiſon and kill than nouriſh and heal the Lands or Creatures that drink them.

This is granting as much as can be demanded, and, perhaps, more than is demanded, and is the exact Figure which they would form in our Minds concerning the Original and Conſtitution of a *Gentleman;* as if he were a different Species from the reſt of Mankind, that Nature had caſt in another Mould, and either that he *p. 7.* was not created at the ſame time, or not made of the ſame Materials as the reſt of the Species of Men.

This exalted Creature of our own forming we are now to ſet up upon the Stage of Honour, rate him above the ordinary Price, and ranking him in a higher Claſs than his Neighbours, call him a *Gentleman.* And now having made an Idol of our own, like *Nebuchadnezzar*, we would have all the meaner World fall down and worſhip him.

I allow indeed (I might ſay I am forc'd to allow) that there are and may be accidental Degeneracies by corrupt Mixtures of Blood, that the original Stream is ſometimes diſhonoured and injured by promiſcuous Coalitions, and Marriages with Perſons of Plebeian Race; yet it is inſinuated that there are ſome Globules in the Blood, ſome ſublime Particles in the Animal Secretion, which will not mix with the hated Stream of a mechanick Race, but preſerve themſelves pure and entire, and in time expels the degenerate Mixture, and reſtores its original Purity; and the Learned often expreſs themſelves in ſuch caſes thus, *viz.* Such a one has good Blood in his Veins, tho' his Father indeed did marry below himſelf, and his Mother was a Shopkeeper's Daughter or a Citizen's Daughter of no Family; yet he is of a good Family originally, and he has now married a Lady of an ancient Family in the North; ſo that the Quality of his Race will be kept up, and the Blood is reſtor'd.

This is the Language of the Times, which I muſt comply with, and muſt conſent to aſſiſt in the carrying it on, even to ſuch ridiculous height, that as ſome Sectaries have been juſtly reproach'd with ſeparating from the World, and refuſing to marry with Unbelievers, and as the *Phariſees* of old ſaid to the *Publicans, Stand off for I am holier than Thou:* So I muſt join, for the preſent purpoſe, with theſe People that value themſelves on their unmix'd Blood, and call them Gentlemen, tho' they want a Pair of Shoes, and the Ladies who ſcorn to marry a Tradeſman however rich, wiſe, *p.* 8.

learned, well-educated or religious, tho' at the ſame time they have little or nothing to ſupport the Character of their Birth, and perhaps, not Means to ſubſiſt.

Unhappy Humour! truly ridiculous, and indeed prepoſterous! and yet in this manner I muſt proceed in meer Conformity to the Cuſtom of the Times, at leaſt 'till I come to the juſt Diſtinctions which I ſhall afterwards make, and by which, if poſſible, we may undeceive the World, divorce their Minds from an eſpouſed Error, and ſet the real Gentlemen in a true Light, that we may no longer make a Harlequin of the Man we ſhould admire: But ſetting up a new Claſs truly qualify'd to inherit the Title, turn the ancient Race into the Woods a grazing with *Nebuchadnezzar*, notwithſtanding all the Trappings of their Antiquity, high Birth, great Anceſtors, and boaſted Family Fame, 'till they learn to know themſelves, 'till their Underſtandings return, and 'till they can be brought to confeſs that when Learning, Education, Virtue and good Manners are wanting, or degenerated and corrupted in a Gentleman, he ſinks out of the Rank, ceaſes to be any more a Gentleman, and is, *ipſo facto*, turn'd back among the leſs deſpicable Throng of the *Plæbeii*. That when it is thus, the Species alters, the Manners make the Man, that the Gentility dies in them, and like a fine Flower ill tranſplanted the Kind is loſt; that they loſe all Pretence of right to the Quality they bore, forfeiting their Claim of Blood they[1] really ought to rank no otherwiſe than according to Merit.

The firſt thing which ſeems neceſſary in this Work, and which may be of uſe to ſet this Affair in a Clear Light, is to examine our modern Notions about Nobility of Blood; upon what Principles they are *p. 9.* raiſed, and to what Abſurdities they are carry'd by ſome People, ſetting every thing in its due Order, as the great Fountain of Order has ſet them: See who is in the Right and who in the Wrong, that ſo we may place the Gentleman where he ſhould be placed, and then we may honour him as he ſhould be honour'd: For the Deſign of this Work is not at all to level Mankind, to blend the Low and the High together, and ſo make a meer Mob of the People.

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[1] This is the beginning of folio 8 of the MS. After *the leſs deſpicable Throng of the Plæbeii* is a mark for an interpolation, which is lost with the preceding leaf, the next words being *really ought to rank*, &c. After *as the great Fountain of Order has ſet them*, another insertion is lost, which extended as far as the paragraph *Venice and Poland*, &c., on page 11 of the printed sheet.

'Tis evident God Almighty in peopling the Earth acted with the ſame Wiſdom, and with the ſame excellent Order, as he did in peopling the Sky, nay even the Heavens themſelves. In the Firmament he placed glorious Lights; glorious indeed they are in all their Degree, but of different Magnitude. It is true that even thoſe which appear as if they were of leſs Magnitude far than others, may be ſo to us only as their Station is nearer or more remote. But it is the ſame thing to us ſtill, that near or remote Situation is appointed to form the Difference of their appearing Luſtre.

Here we ſee a *Sun*, an immenſe and amazing Globe of Fire ſhining in its full Strength, warming us with his illuſtrious Beams, enlivening and envigorating the World with its Genial Heat, giving new Seaſons in their Order, and putting a new Face upon Nature, and clothing her with Beauty and a renewed Youth at his Vernal Returns.

There the humble Moon and her Siſters the Planets with their *Satellites*, the *Plebeii* of the Skies, dark and opake in themſelves, ſhine by Reflection only, and borrowing Beams from the *Patrician* Sun, give Light without Heat, pale and languid, and ſeem to be in a wonderful Round of Negative Glory what they really are not.

p. 10. *Tho' Wand'ring, fix'd; tho' retrograde, yet true;*
Tho' Chang'd, the ſame; and tho' the ſame, yet new;
Tho' diſtant, near; immenſly high, yet low;
Swift, yet not rapid; tedious, yet not ſlow;
Tho' dark, yet clear; tho' all opake, yet bright;
Fair[1] *without Beams, and without Luſtre bright.*

Thus Heaven, I ſay, acts with the ſame Wiſdom in placing his Creatures in differing Ranks and Claſſes in every Part of the Creation; nay even in the Cœleſtial Creation it ſelf we are told there are different Claſſes even among the Heavenly Inhabitants themſelves, such as we call *Angels* and *Archangels*, and ſuch as ſacred Text diſtinguiſhes by *Thrones*, *Dominions*, *Principalities*, and *Powers:* Nay, and if we may believe the ſublime Mr. *Milton*, who talk'd of thoſe Places as if he had been born there, there were abundance more Claſſes than we have Names for.

In the very ſame Method God proceeded when he eſtabliſhed a Nation under his own Government here on Earth, and whom he govern'd in an immediate *Theocraſie:* Do we not read of the Princes of *Iſrael*, Heads of the Houſe of their Fathers, *Honourable* Men, and Men of *Renown*, &c?

All this is in favour of the *Gentry* and *Nobility* of the World, and to let you ſee I am far from levelling the Clown and the Gentleman, the Great with the Mean and Baſe. No; not the Rich with the Poor, which, by the way, *may at the Bottom be the Eſſence of that Diſtinction*, as we ſhall ſee in its Place.

All this, I ſay, will let you ſee that I am far from intending to leſſen or diſhonour the Gentleman I am ſpeaking of: I allow him to be the Glory of the

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[1] The print has *Shines*, which the corrector has altered to *Fair.*

Creation, the exalted Head of the whole Race, that demands Honour and Diſtinction from the reſt of the *p.* 11. World. I have the Honour to be rank'd, by the Direction of Providence, in the ſame claſs, and would be ſo far from leſſening the Dignity Heaven has given us, that I would add Luſtre, if that was poſſible, to the conſtellated Body, and make them ſtill more illuſtrious than they are.

But this is to be done, not by dreſſing them up like Actors upon a Stage, adorning worthleſs and degenerate Heads with Laurels and Bays, that they may act the Conquerors who never drew a Sword; and the Poets who never meaſur'd Quantity, tranſforming Faces, tranſpoſing Figures, and making the Actreſs appear to-day a *Goddeſs*, to-morrow a *Queen*, and the third Day a *Waiting-woman*, and the like, as the Part ſhe is to act requires.

The Gentleman is to be repreſented as he really is, and in a figure which he cannot be a Gentleman without; I mean as a Perſon of Merit and Worth; a Man of Honour, Virtue, Senſe, Integrity, Honeſty, and Religion, without which he is Nothing at all, as we ſhall see in its place. But of that by it ſelf.

Venice[1] and *Poland* are two particular countryes, *MS. fol.* 8. where the notions[2] of nobillity in blood are[3] at this time carryed to the higheſt and moſt ridiculous extreme. The *Venetians* are without diſpute an antient people, they call themſelves the unconquer'd remains of the antient *Romans;* and I am not for diſputing it with them at all, any more than I will with our *Welch* gentlemen whether they are the unconquer'd remains of the antient *Britains;* if they are not the degenerated[4] race of them 'tis well enough.

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[1] As the rest of the text of the printed sheet corresponds with that of the MS., the latter will be followed in future.

[2] *notion* in MS. and print. [3] *is* in print. [4] *degenerate* in print.

I will not doubt but that, according to antient hiſtory[1] when the *Goths* and *Vandals* and other barbrous[2] nacions over-run *Italy*, when the *Exarchs* who took refuge at *Ravenna*, and ſet up their petty governments there, were no more, and all face of government began to wear out in *Italy*, I mean as it was *Roman*, when the Kingdom of *Lombardy* diſſolved itſelf, and all the other kingdoms of that part of the world made up the great Empire of *Charlemain*, or *Carolous*[3] *Magnus*, and of the *Franks*, from whom to this day all the *European* nacions are among the *Greeks* call'd *Franks;* I will not, I ſay, doubt but that the *Veneti* or the *Paduans*, for they were the head of them, and other inhabitants of the ſea-coaſt, and of the country upon the banks of the Po, retiring to the inacceſſible iſlands and the low grounds at the mouth of that great river, the ſame which is now call'd the *Dogade*, or the mere dominion of the Duke and Senate of *Venice*, defended themſelves againſt all the forces of the *barbarians*, and erected a new nacion made up of many nacions. That all the families diſperſ'd among the provinces of *Italy*, who abhorr'd the bondage of the barbarians, finding those *Veneti* enjoy'd there both liberty and peace, principally by the help of their ſituacion, and particularly by their naval ſtrength, which they by meer neceſſity erected, fled to them, and dwelling among them, became ſoon after manumiz'd and made freemen and encorporated into the ſame common body.

As they form'd their firſt conſtitution into a Commonwealth, the ſame as it remains at this day, and[4] dreſſing up their government in the ſame form and exactly after the modelle of the Common-wealth of *Rome*, ſo they had their *Senatus Populuſque* on one hand, and the *Tribunes* of the people on the other; they were divided into the *Senate* and the *people*, or as it follow'd the *Nobillity* and the *Commons*, exactly the ſame as the *Patricii* and the *Plæbeij* of *Rome;* and as the *Romans* upon all emergencies of the State, extraordinary dangers from enemies, and the like, choſe a *Dictator* and afterwards the *Cæſars* aſſum'd the title of perpetual dictators, and then that of *Imperator;* ſo the *Venetians* appointed a *Doge* or *Duke* in the nature of a *Dictator*, or of a temporary *Imperator*, onely that this is more limited and reſtrain'd by much, as he is rather the ſervant than the governor of the Common-wealth.

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[1] Instead of *antient hiſtory* the print has a long stroke.

[2] *barbarous* in print.

[3] *Carolus* in print.

[4] *and* not in print.

Now what follow'd among the *Venetians?* Pride ſtepping in, as it uſually does, where the degeneracy of nature opens a door, aſſiſted to put an immoderate rate upon this claſs of nobillity, tho' without the firſt virtue which raiſed them; the Senators meriting at firſt greatly from the people who came to dwell among them, as is ſaid, for the protection they gave them againſt the barbarians, were in return greatly honour'd as they indeed deſerv'd; their names were reverenc'd and the merit deſcending in thoſe firſt ages to their poſterity, the honour entail'd it ſelf of courſe.

The prudent and well-managing of the government was the teſtimonial of their reall deſervings; and in the next age all thoſe familyes, on whoſe wiſdom, valour and fidelity to their country the greatneſs of the Common-wealth began ſo ſoon to flouriſh, were firſt made Counſellors and Directors of the State, and then ennobled; I ſay *made*, becauſe 'tis evident the *Tribunes* made them Councillors, and eſtabliſhed them in the Government, and the *Tribunes* conſequently gave them nobillity; to which was added that the Doge or Duke ſhould be allways choſen out of that body, with power in the ſaid Doge and nobillity to confer nobillity to f. 9. other families, as merit and reaſons of State ſhould make reaſonable; and had they ſtopped there they had done well.

Here began nobillity in Venice, and a juſt beginning it was; nobillity, as it ought to be, was made an appendix to, or attendant on, virtue: True merit, fidellity to, and ſervices done for, their country, exalted the firſt patriots of the State, and eſtabliſh'd themſelves as the rule for thoſe noble perſons to act by in taking ſubſequent patriots into that illuſtrious body, giving nobillity afterwards as the reward of virtue, and thereby firing the minds of the growing and aſpiring generacions with reſolutions to purchaſe nobillity at the ſame rate, (viz.) by noble and generous accions, by a generall courſe of glorious merit, ſo to riſe to honour on the wings of virtue, which indeed is the onely juſtifyable gradacion.

All this was right, and thus to make a nobleman or a gentleman, would certainly add luſtre to the name, and men might juſtly value themſelves upon the honours[1] ſo acquir'd and ſo conferr'd.

But two things are to be brought in abatement of the plea. Not againſt the honour for I am ſtaunch to the principle I layd down; the honour I allow to be valuable, but then the merit too muſt remain. But if the vertue deſcends not with the titles, the man is but the ſhaddow of a gentleman, without the ſubſtance. If vertue gave being[2] to his degree, where the cauſe dyes the effect ceaſes; the degenerate[3] offſpring of the noble, virtuous, gallant ſpirit ſinks the nobleman, becauſe the nobleman ſinks the hero; the honour muſt go with the merit: If he has not the virtue which is the merit, how can he be call'd noble? What remains to the miſerable ſkeleton of a nobleman? The walking ſhaddow of a duke who once was noble, but of whom it may be ſaid, the man remains, but the D . . . is dead, as a renegado is no more a chriſtian.

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[1] *honour* in print. [2] MS. *bing*. [3] MS. *dengerate*.

2. The advancing men to honours without the merit, is abuſing the honour and the man too. It is indeed a peice of mockery, and is a ſcandal of the nobillity and gentry; 'tis dreſſing little *David* in *Saul's* armour—the one a ſtripling, and the other the talleſt man in *Iſrael:* Poor *David* could not walk, much leſs fight, in that dreſs. Well did King *Charles* II. ſay, *he could make a knight, but could not make a gentleman.* The king underſtood what went to that quallification, and that a title no more made a gentleman than the lyon's ſkyn would make the aſs a lyon; The gentleman muſt have the merit, or he is not at all advanc'd by his title; the *Sir* no more makes a gentleman, than the ſcarf makes a doctor: To exalt a fool is onely making a jeſt for the town; in a word, to knight a booby is an aſſault upon nature, and is a ſatyr upon the clown himſelf; ſee what *Andrew Marvell* ſayes upon ſomething of this kind.

To ſee a white ſtaff *make a beggar* a lord,
And ſcarce a wiſe man *at a* long *Councel Board.*

When I mencion the advancing men to titles without merit, I may be ſuppoſ'd to touch upon the modern cuſtome of ſelling nobility in *Venice* for 100,000 ducates; and, if indeed the man ſo advanc'd had nothing to entitle him to the honour but the money, the ſatyr would be juſt: But I am told the Venetians go upon three ſtipulacions when they make thoſe advances.

1. They never take that method to raiſe money by encreaſing the familyes of the nobility except in times of heavy war, when the State is preſſ'd, and when 'tis neceſſary to raiſe a conſiderable ſum for the exigencies of State.

2. When they have voted for taking in a certain number of perſons into the nobillity, it is referr'd to the Council to ſingle out ſuch familyes, and ſuch perſons, as have deſerv'd well of the Common Wealth.

3. The advancing the money on theſe occaſions is really doing a ſervice to the public, and may be allow'd to have ſome merit in itſelf.

But now we come to the main clauſe wherein this article of nobillity in *Venice* is brought under our ſatyr. The antient nobillity value themſelves ſo much above f. 10. the created nobillity, that there ſeems to be an implacable animoſity between them, and they will ſcarce ſalute one another or at leaſt would not for a time.

Now this comes exactly within the cenſure which I am paſſing with ſo much juſtice upon the times. If the antient nobillity had either any ſuperiour perſonal merit of their own, upon the foot of which they could juſtly rate themſelves above the other, or if the modern nobillity lay under any ſcandal, upon the foot of which they could be reproacht as unquallify'd for Nobillity, that they had no merit but their money, or were really perſonally unworthy being enobled; this would in either caſe juſtifye the contempt with which they treat them.

But ſuppoſe now that the noble *Venetian* of the antient creation, ſuppoſe one of the *Contarini*, the *Bragadini*, the *Boccalini*, the *Cornari*, or the *Mocenigi;* ſuppoſe him a bully, a rake, a B . . . . or a W . . . . or an E . . . . , a man uſeleſs to the Common Wealth, degenerate, vitious, unworthy of the honour and titles which he bears, and which he inherits, but knows not how to deſerve: ſuppoſe him diſhonouring his glorious anceſtors by his deficiency of that vertue, courage, learning, and fidellity to his country, which juſtly raiſ'd his anceſtors to the dignity of counſellors, and rankt them among the nobillity: Shall the nobillity of blood remain, with this weight upon its fame? NO! 'tis[1] inconſiſtent with the nature of the thing; the blood of a gentleman poiſon'd and tainted with crime is loſt, and ought to be no more valued as a generous ſtream.[2]

Suppoſe, on the contrary, a nobleman of the modern creation, and allow him to be a perſon of merit, of wiſedom, of prudence, of learning, able for council, for embaſſys, for confidence; a man of conduct in the field, brave, enterpriſing, experienc't, and faithfull, and worthily honour'd, and enobl'd on all theſe accounts; beſides the advancing ſo much money, as is ſaid above, for the public ſervice in a time of exigence.

Now the caſe is this: the firſt of theſe, notwithſtanding[3] all thoſe extremes of contrarys, ſhall contemn the laſt for the meer antiquity of their creation; how abſurd is the pride of this, and how contrary to the nature of the thing! The firſt has nothing to value himſelf upon but the remote vertues of his forgotten anceſtors, which weigh no more in the ſcale of his perſonall merit, than the eſcutcheon of his arms painted upon ſilk would weigh againſt the other man's 100,000 duckets.

In a word, the laſt has the merit, the firſt the antiquity; pray which has the beſt claim to the honour? The firſt has family without vertue, the laſt has the virtue to build the family: the firſt ought to be the laſt nobleman of his houſe, as the laſt is the firſt nobleman of his. Yet thus it is *at Venice:* the antient nobillity look upon the modern nobillity with the utmoſt contempt, ſo as they will hardly keep them company, or give them the civilityes of their rank, if they meet them in the ſtreet. Let us bring the caſe nearer home.

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[1] *it is* in print.

[2] The passage from *Shall the nobillity* to *generous ſtream* is scratched out in the MS., but it stands in the print, which ends here.

[3] Abbreviated in MS.

With what contempt do we degrade a Knight of the Garter who has once diſhonour'd his dignity by crime. The trophies of his honour, the enſigns of the Order, are thrown down. His coat of arms, however illuſtrious, and even glorious, from the nobillity of his deſcent, are taken from over the ſtall, are tranſverſ'd, torn in peices, thrown on the ground, and kick'd out at the door of the chappel of the Order. His name is declar'd infamous and deteſtable, and his memory unworthy of being preſerv'd in the roll among the Knights Companions.

If this is the treatment which a man once ſo exalted, ſo great, ſo honourable, ſhall receive in the particular caſe of treaſon and rebellion againſt the Soveraign, why ſhall not a gentleman forfeit his rank and be ſuppoſ'd degenerate when he diſhonours his blood by other equal, or even leſs, degrees of crime, ſuch for example as a generall contempt of all morall virtue, a total degeneracy of manners, and in a word an avowed practiſe of all degrees of ſcandal and crime?

It is a little hard, and we muſt think ourſelves impoſed upon by cuſtome and other errors of the age, that a man ſhall ſtand attainted in blood, and his poſterity after him, for crimes againſt the Government he lives in, and ſhall yet preſerv his blood entire, and the ſtreams of it be eſteem'd pure and uncorrupted, when he gives up all obedience either to God or good manners. Such a conduct degrades the gentleman *ipſo facto* and ſhows him in the form of a vile and degenerate wretch. And why ſhould he not be taken as Nature ſhows him? why ſhould he not be accepted for what he is, and not for what he is not?

In *Poland* this vanity of birth is ſtill worſe; 'tis there carry'd up to ſuch a monſtrous extravagance, that the name of gentleman and the title of a *Staroſt*, a *Palatine*, or a *Caſtollan*, gives the man a ſuperiority over all the vaſſals or common people, infinitely greater than that of King or Emperor, reigning over them with more abſolute power, and making them more miſerable than the ſubjects either of the *Grand Seignior* or the *Cham of Tartary*, inſomuch that they trample on the poorer people as dogs and frequently murder them: and when they do, are accountable to nobody, nor are call'd ſo much as to giv a reaſon for it. *f.* 11. Were this haughty carriage and the violence uſ'd upon that account allow'd by the conſtitution of their country, the poor people were only to be commiſerated, and their unhappyneſs would be that they were the ſubjects of ſuch a Government. But then I ſhould have nothing to do with it in this place.

But as it is the conſequence of meer pride and arrogance founded upon birth and the pretended prerogativ of blood, it is an example which, of all ever met with, moſt expoſes the thing I am ſpeaking of and is indeed the reproach, inſtead of being the true character, of a gentleman.

For take the nobillity and gentry of *Poland*, not onely as we kno' them to be by converſing with them in their private capacity, but as they appear in hiſtory; in the firſt place, they are the moſt haughty, imperious, inſulting people in the world. A very valuable hiſtorian of our times ſayes they are proud, inſolent, *obſtinate, paſſionate, furious*. Theſe are indeed the born gentlemen; but how remote is this from the true bred gentlemen, of whom, thanks be to Heaven, we have ſome among us, and of whoſe character I ſhall have room to ſpeak with ſome pleaſure.

Then take them, I ſay, as they appear in hiſtory.

How falſe, perfidious, treacherous, mercenary, unſteady, not to be truſted upon the ſolemneſt oath! Let the preſent King of Poland be our witneſs in this caſe. How often did they ſwallow his gifts by millions, then change ſides upon the leaſt diſguſt or as they found the ſtream run low, and then fight againſt him, that is, aſſociate againſt him (for they can't be charg'd with much fair fighting), till they, as it were, ſwallow'd him up; and yet, after all, ſtood ſtill and let a ſubject be put into the throne over his head by an enemy who, had but thoſe very gentlemen that had eaten his bread, as it may be truly ſaid, *that is, taken his money*, ſtood by him like gentlemen, as they call themſelves, could never have[1] been brought to paſs.

How often have thoſe men of honour, as *they are to be call'd*,—for all gentlemen are or ought to be ſuch—play'd Jack a both ſides, to-day for and to-morrow againſt, to-day for the *Saxon* to-morrow for the *Swede*, as the money could be got or the party was ſtrongeſt.

Yet if you ſhould aſk *a Polander* what he is, he would tell you he is *gentleman of Poland;* and ſo much do they value themſelves upon the name, that they think they are abov being tyed to the rules of honour, which are the onely conſtituting laws of gentlemen. Nay they ſupport themſelves upon their being gentlemen even in doing the fouleſt and blackeſt things and which we ſay are below a gentleman, and expect allowance in thoſe things, even from Heaven itſelf, on account of their birth and quallity: an eminent inſtance of which we have in an infamous wretch, Capt. Vratz, a Polander, who, in cold blood, aſſaſſinated an Engliſh gentleman, *Thomas Thynne* Eſq^{re}, ſhooting him into the body in his coach with a muſqueteer loaden with 7 bullets; and who, the day before he was to be hang'd for it, when he was ſpoken with by the miniſter to prepare himſelf for death, anſwer'd that *he did not doubt but God would have ſom reſpect to him as a gentleman.*

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[1] MS. *ha'*.

Let us wonder no more at all the weak and wicked things thoſe people can do under the ſkreen of their dignity, who can carry it ſuch a length, as to believ Heaven itſelf regards them in the ſame ſtacion they regard themſelves, and that they may act like devils under the maſk of the gentleman.

And yet, as I ſaid abov, this does by no means intimate a levelling all mankind one with another: far otherwiſe, it exalts the true gentleman above the common, mechanick, labouring claſs as high as can be in reaſon deſir'd or imagin'd, onely with this ſhort addition eaſily underſtood and not impoſſible to be acquir'd, *namely*, that the virtue ſhould go along with the title, the merit deſcend with the race, and follow the inheritance like a rent-charge upon the manſion houſe and park.

If the heir will cut off the entail, if he will quit the vertue, he ſhould quit the name; for a man, to have dignity without honeſty, the name without the fame, the diſtincion of quallity without the diſtinction of quallification, is like the coat of arms of the family without the eſtate. In a word, if he will cut off the entail of virtue and honor, he ſhould cut off the entail of the title too, and ſhould no longer call himſelf a gentleman than he will act like a gentleman, no longer pretend to be a man of blood and family than he will be a man of honeſty and merit.

To be known by his crimes, at the ſame time that he claims to be known by his blood and the antiquity of his anceſtors, is to regiſter himſelf the ſhame of his race: and to place himſelf as a mark of infamy upon his houſe, which, as in the caſe of a bend in his coat of arms, the eſcutcheon cannot be blazon'd without it, ſo the hiſtory of his family can not be read over, but his own part muſt be left out or ſtand as a foyl to the brighter lives of the reſt of his kindred.

f. 12. How is the ancient noble family of Sturton in Wiltſhire remembrd with infamy, tho' full of illuſtrious anceſtors, for the foul fact committed by one of the race! How is the ſilken halter which to this day hangs over his grave in the cathedrall of Saliſbury and with which he was executed, all-ways remembr'd when the very family is but nam'd. All the good of the family is ſunk and forgotten in that one crime, and the whole race now extinct is, as it were, attainted in fame, tho' not guilty.

It is the ſame with the family of the Lord Caſtlehaven and ſeverall others that might be nam'd; and if we come to matters of treaſon, we ſee the law is ſo ſevere that the attainder of blood extends to the poſterity, and they are no more nam'd among the nobillity.

And why ſhould it not be ſo with every gentleman who giving himſelf up to crime diſhonours his race? nay, it is ſo in the nature of the thing, whether it is ſo in the ſtrict determination of the law: when he degenerates from the vertue of his anceſtor, when he abandons himſelf to vice, and becomes looſe and profligate, 'tis an attainder upon his blood; he ſhould be eſteem'd as one that has abdicated the title of gentleman and levell'd himſelf with Newgate and the Bear-Garden.

Where is there any man that to this day will boaſt himſelf of being the poſterity of a highway-man or a murtherer? Do we ſee any of the family and poſterity of Guy Faux or of Lieutenant Felton? Who values himſelf upon the race of thoſe aſſaſſinators of princes, Balthazar Gerrard and of Poltcot? We have ſome famous Rabbis of the Jews left among the regiſters of antiquity of the Æſmodean[1] race, and ſome who ſay they are of the poſterity of the good old Simeon; we read of Rabbi Joſeph and Rabbi . . . Ben Gorion and others, but we never read, as I remember, of Rabbi Judas or the noble race of the ſorcerer Bar Jeſus or of Simon Magus.

As crime, when grave, notorious, and flagrant, brands a family even in the view of the whole world, and puts a ſtop to the fame of the whole race, ſo, I think, 'tis but juſt it ſhould do ſo to the claim of a gentleman, and the poſterity of a proffligate ſhould be aſham'd of their anceſtor, blacken'd by his crimes and, whether hang'd or unhang'd, as well when he eſcapes juſtice as when he falls under the ſtroke of it.

As then the crimes of our anceſtors deface their memory in our eſteem, and make us bluſh to owne them or to own our ſelves to belong to, or be ſprung from, them, ſo when we abandon ourſelves to vice, we ought, for ourſelves and in behalf of our poſterity, to quit the name of gentleman, and to blot our ſelves out of the roll of our families. When we ceaſe to be honeſt men we ſhould ceaſe to claim the name of men of honour [for honeſty and honour are the ſame].

To conclude, it cannot juſtly be taken for a depreciating the rank and quallity of men of birth and blood to lay ſo much greater ſtreſs upon their perſonal merit and virtue than upon their lines and deſcent, the antiquity of their families and greatneſs of their anceſtors. It is, I think, doing a higher piece of juſtice to them and exalting them as really deſerving the dignity they poſſeſs, ſuppoſing them really to accumulate honour and add to the glory of their race by the illuſtrious merit of their own accions; and were we to rate our nobillity and gentry by their rule, (viz.) of their own merit, and no otherwiſe, it would be the greateſt ſpur to great actions imaginable; and the world would ſoon applye to the practiſe of virtue as to the true and proper means of obtaining fame. We have one ſtrange example in Europe, and it is nacionall too, where a whole people have caſt off all claim of blood from their reall anceſtors, and reject the very race they are deſcended from, onely becauſe of the infamy of their character, and this is the Spaniards.

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[1] Error instead of *Aſmonean.*

It is evident they are generally deſcended from the Moors, who, having conquer'd and for above 700 years poſſeſs't Spain and Portugal loſt their tawny progeny by promiſcuous generacion and intermarriages with the natives blended with the blood of the beſt and moſt antient familyes in Spain; and this is ſo evident in the very blood, the names, nay, and the very faces of Spain and Portugal, that you hardly find any familyes in either of thoſe countryes who pretend to any line or genealogy farther back than the fifteenth and ſixteenth century, except ſuch as have ſettled in Spain from other countryes under the Spaniſh government.

Upon this very account it is that if you enquire into moſt of the great families in Spain, and eſpecially thoſe who claim a deſcent of much antiquity, they tell you their family came from Sicily or they were originally Neapolitans, or Milaneſe, or Flemiſh, or Burgundians, all which countryes were formerly ſubjects of the King of Spain; but not a man will own himſelf deſcended from a Moor: he would as ſoon claim a deſcent from Mahomet or Judas; and yet 'tis evident that moſt of them have undergone the mixture, and have it not onely in their language, their colour, their temper and their names but even (as abov) in their very faces, and that of the beſt of their families, not excepting the royal houſe of Braganza itſelf.

Let any man examine the countenances of the Spaniards, and eſpecially of the Portugueſe, and ſee if there is ordinarily not ſomething of the Moor and the Negrow in their very features. Nay, let them look on the new gold coin, where there is the buſt or head of a certain king, and let them ſee if they can not diſtinguiſh ſomething of the Moor in the very face, and yet the family is as great, as antient, and has had a race of heroes in it, equall to moſt in Spain or Portugal.

From what an original then are we to go for a gentleman in this part of the world? and yet they are not more tenacious of their blood and, as 'tis call'd, of their gentility in any nation in Europe, tho' the excellency of it is to ſtop the ſearch at[1] the time of Ferdinand of Caſtile, ſo that the claim of blood is to go no higher on pain of ſcandal and diſgrace.

Thus we ſee in ſome places the gentleman is valued for being antient and in ſome places for being modern; ſome for one thing, ſome another. In *England* we deſire no greater honour than to ſay our line can be trac'd back to the Conqueror, and that our anceſtor came over with the conqueror:

Tho' what the hero was no man can tell,
Whether a Drummer or a Colonell.

In Ruſſia we ſee the ſhort originalls of their chief nobillity by no means affecte their glory. They tell us that, the old ducal race of the Muſcovite blood being extinct, the late Czar himſelf was but in three removes the ſon of a Greek prieſt, and that none of the beſt or firſt-rate prieſts neither; that a certain great prince of the nacion, who was at this time lately ſaid to be the Deputy Czar (for ſo they call'd him) and chief mannager or miniſter of the whole Empire, tho' now in exile, was but a drummer in the Czar's army; and that the late Empreſs (Reſt her ſoul) was but a chambermaid to the Lutheran Vicar of Dorpt in Livonia when that province was Swediſh; that ſhe was hyr'd by the old man to wait upon his two daughters, and that ſhe had but 5 Rix-dollars a year wages.

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[1] *at* indistinctly written.

How then did the late Czar raiſe his fame? how arriv to that pitch of glory? of whom it is truly ſaid no prince ever obtain'd ſuch an elevated character in ſo ſhort a time. It was neither by his high birth or his education. His father had nothing of it in him, was weak and inconſtant in his temper, had neither knowledge natural or acquir'd; and as for his elder brother he was little better than a f.... It was not then convey'd by blood: he might be born of what he would, if they had it not themſelves, they could not convey it by generation. *Nil dat quod non habet.* The being the ſon of an Emperor or the grandſon of an Emperor ſtor'd the eldeſt ſon with no brains; and how many eldeſt ſons of heroes do we find inheriting the name without the genius, in a word the body without the ſoul. It was all owing to his induſtry and application; he had the genius lent by Heaven, not by the blood of his family; he had the head, and, above all, had a ſence of his want of knowledge, which fir'd his ſoul with an earneſt deſire to kno', to learn, and to be inſtructed. He ſought wiſdom, thro' the whole world; he applyed for knowledge in every branch of ſcience. He knew he wanted it before, and he knew it was to be obtained, and this made him unwearied in his applicacion to encreaſe his knowledge, to cultivate his underſtanding. This made him reſolv to travell, that he might furniſh his head with knowledge: the want of it made him uneaſie and unſatiſfy'd with himſelf and with his whole empire: he abhorr'd to be ignorant of any thing, and from hence he reſolv'd to ſee every thing that was to be ſeen, hear every thing that was to be heard, know every thing that was to be known and learn every thing that was to be taught. f. 14.

But as God aſk'd Adam after the fall, *Who told thee that thou waſt naked?* ſo the queſtion readily occurrs here (and I aſſure you it has ſome weight in it), *Who told the Czar of Moſcow that he was ignorant?* We kno' 'tis the particular property of a Ruſs to think they kno' every thing, and to abhorr to be taught by any body; but it was not ſo with the Czar. What ever he knew he found he might kno' more of, nay he found other men knew more than himſelf. It was his uſuall ſaying that every cobler that came but from Germany or Holland knew more than he did.

They tell us that one of the main occaſions of his being more than ordinarily ſencible of the want of ſence and underſtanding in himſelf, as well as in his own people, was at the firſt ſeige of Aſoph, where he was oblig'd to raiſe the ſiege after the killing of two German engineers, meerly for the ignorance and unſkilfulneſs of his own.

After that he went to Arch-Angel, where he converſt with ſome of the Dutch and Engliſh merchants and commanders of ſhips, and where he found, as he often ſaid, every cabbin boy taking obſervacions, keeping the ſhip's reckonings and able to ſteer and work a ſhip better than any of his people; and that every mate or boatſwain underſtood more of navigation than the beſt man in all his empire.

There he built himſelf a yacht or pleaſure boat, and had allmoſt drown'd himſelf to learn how to work it.

Theſe things taught him to know his own ignorance and defficiency, and fir'd him with reſolutions of improving himſelf that he might improv his whole empire. This made him, according to Solomon, *Search for knowledge as for ſilver and dig for it as for hid treaſure* Prov. 2. 4.

If this ſence of ſelf-defficiency was able to form the ſoul of an Emperor, and to finiſh him for a hero, would not the ſame humble thoughts aſſiſt and accompliſh a gentleman, if improv'd and follow'd with the ſame applicacion; and if it was not below an Emperor thus to furniſh his ſoul with knowledge, and even to force nature and form a genius to himſelf, to poliſh and finiſh his mind for the great accions which were before him in life, how can it be below a private gentleman to do the ſame?

Indeed, if the Czar had not been bred abroad, one would not have taken him to be what we call a gentleman, eſpecially an Engliſh gentleman; for do we ever meet with an Engliſh gentleman that does not think himſelf wiſe enough and learned enough? Do not we Engliſh gentlemen think, that to be a good ſportſman is the perfeccion of education, and to ſpeak good dog language and good horſe language is far abov Greek and Latin; and that a little damming and ſwearing among it makes all the reſt polite and faſhionable. I met with one of this ſort of gentlemen once that was very bright upon the ſubject with me. "What occaſion has a gentleman to trouble himſelf," ſaid he, "with books, and to ſpend his time poring over old hiſtoryes? what have we to do with the lives of a parcell of rotten kings and emperors, the Cæſars and Alexanders of the world? aren't they dead and in their graves and forgotten? and there let them lye and be forgotten. What does it ſignifye to us to enquire after them?"

"There's Sir T . . . . P . . . ." (adds he) "and my Lord . . . .; they have been travelling as they call it; 'tis rambling *over the hills and far away*, moiling themſelves in clambring over the mountains of the Alps and the Pyrenees and I kno' not where, hunting in every hole and corner to ſee graves and ruines, and to look upon the old heaps, that they may ſay they have ſeen the place where ſuch a town ſtood, the vault where ſuch an emperor was bury'd, and it may be they had ſeen the town too, if it had not been loſt, and the Emperor too, if he had not been dead; and what if they had? all they could ſay when they came home would be, I have ſeen ſuch a town and ſuch a Cæſar, to which one would anſwer as the Dutch do in the like caſes, *Had you not un ſac?* had you not a bag? that is to ſay, if you had, why did you not bring 'em away with you? Here was my Lord . . . . .," adds his Worſhip, bantering a noble perſon who had ſpent ſome yeares abroad, "went over to Affrica, and what did he ſee there? why he ſaw a lyon, and ſo have I done in the tower; well, but he ſaw the ruines of the great city of Carthage, that is to ſay he ſaw Carthage lyeing in ſtate, for it ſeems it was dead: he ſaw a great heap of rubbiſh and they told him, there the city of Carthage ſtood. Very good, and his Lordſhip values himſelf much upon it.—Why," ſayes he, "I ſaw London once in rubbiſh, and that was better; for it had this difference, that London is riſen again from the dead, and ſo is not Carthage, and never will; and I think I am even with his Lordſhip and have ſav'd a labour of rambling a thouſand miles for nothing."

Then my country eſquire was witty upon the gentlemen that read and travell to ſtow themſelves with knowledge, that are curious in ſearching into antiquity, and looking back into the records of time; that read the glorious accions of great men in order to imitate their vertue and, that by knowledge treaſur'd up, make themſelves rich in abillityes as well as deſire to ſerv their country. But he ſets his foot upon it all as ridiculous, enjoys his eſpouſ'd brutallity, hunts, hawkes, ſhootes, and follows his game, hallows to his dogs, dams his ſervants, dotes upon his horſes, drinks with his huntſman, and is excellent company for two or three drunken elder brothers in his neighbourhood; and as here is his felicity, ſo here is the uttmoſt of his accompliſhments. *f.* 15.

When[1] he comes to the eſtate, 'tis not the ſame onely but worſe; for, his pride encreaſing without his ſence, he comes at laſt to the perfeccion of a fool, namely to be proud of his ignorance. This makes him talkative, and that makes him intollerable, becauſe he talks nonſence and impoſes it upon you for wit, argues without knowledge, grows dogmatic in his folly and at laſt quarrellſome, till, in a word, you muſt grant the moſt egregious ridiculous noiſe of his tongue to be ſence and liſten to it too, or you muſt fight him.

By this time, he gets a wife and perhaps an heir as wiſe as himſelf. If the lady be a toy, a flutter, an empty weakling like her ſpouſe, ſhe is happy; if not, ſhe is undone; if ſhe is a woman of ſence and wit, ſhe is ruin'd; for to be ty'd down to converſe with a fool, Heavens! what lady of any underſtanding can bear it! In a word, ſhe languiſhes under the inſupportable weight of it a few yeares; when being ſmother'd with the fume and ſmoke of nonſenſe and impertinence, ſhe expires, and ought to be put down among the various diſtempers in the yearly bill *ſuffocated!*

Theſe are the gentlemen of whom the great Rocheſter ſayes they are good Chriſtians,[2] for they allwayes believ Heaven has given them a full ſhare of brains, and that they have wit enough.

In witt alone Heaven is munificent,
Of which to all ſo juſt a ſhare is lent
That the moſt avaritious are content.
And none e're thinks the due diviſion's ſuch,
His own too little, or his friends' too much.

But I ſhall be loſt among fools, the crowd is ſo great that, as[3] in a wood the buſhes are ſo thick, I ſhall never find my way out. I muſt come back to the fact before me. Perhaps I may touch this ſore place again in its order.

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[1] The subsequent text, as far as *in its order*, is marked for deletion, but is not struck out.

[2] Abbreviated in MS.

[3] *that as* indistinct in MS.

But I return to the queſtion about the late Czar of Muſcovy, which requires ſome thing to be ſaid to it, viz., who told him that he was ignorant? It is indeed one of the hardeſt things in the world to convince any man that he is ignorant; like the ſin of ingratitude 'tis what no body cares to confeſs.

The mocion muſt be ſupernatural. It is not dictated by common principles; if it were, the world would be all wiſe, learned, knowing, and fully inform'd; for

If fools could their own ignorance diſcern,
They'd be no longer fools, becauſe they'd learn.

Here I might take up a whole chapter by way of eſſay upon the extraordinary quallificacion of conceit, the puff't up empty accompliſhment, the coxcomb's glory mencion'd as above, viz. opinion, wit, of which Rocheſter merrily ſums up the bleſſing in two lines, thus,

With an eſtate, no witt, and a young wife,
The ſolid comforts of a coxcomb life.

It muſt be confeſſt (ſo nature directs by the force of ſecond cauſes) that 'tis very hard for a man thoro'ly ignorant of witt and good ſence, that knows not what it is or means, not to miſtake in his own favor, not to believ his naturall baſtard wit to be good ſterling, and ſo put it off for current coin when it is really a counterfeit. Now if this be his caſe,

firſt, you need not wonder that he is angry that you won't take it. For like an honeſt man that puts off braſs money, if he does not know it is counterfeit, 'tis no breach of juſtice, and he is not blam'd, and, if you charge his integrity, he reſents it: ſo our ſelf-wiſe gentleman reſents it to an extremety, if you reproach his underſtanding, becauſe he believs it to be very good.

2. You are not to wonder that he ſcorns to be inform'd when he is allready ſo fully perſwaded, that his wit is conſumate and at leaſt ſuperior to yours, who pretend to inform him. Nothing can be a greater affront to him than to offer to teach him who thinks himſelf able to teach the world, and that pretends both to have ſence himſelf and judge of every one's elce.

Crede quod habes, et habes, if, according to the doctrine, to believe that we have wit is to be wiſe, happy! W . . . . the flower of his family, maſter of the fineſt ſence, the fineſt language, and the greateſt ſhow of wit of his whole generacion, no matter where he had it, what tho' his anceſtors for three ages never had any and he was never taught any ; yet as the immenſe fund is ſecur'd in the mine tho' never dug up, and the ſub-
f. 16. ſtance exiſts in his imagination, the reallity is as evident and the operation as effectuall as the diviſion of colours in the priſme, where the eye ſees what is not and realizes nonentity to a demonſtration.

I ſhould be very unwilling to treat the Engliſh gentlemen rudely, when they are ſo civil to themſelves. Nothing is more affronting to a gentleman than to contradict him when he takes the affirmatio upon him, and if he aſſures me then that he is a man of ſence, that he has a fund of brains and a ſtock of wit, whether it be mother-wit or clergy, it matters not ; good manners ſay I am oblig'd to believ it, and while I ſubmit to the popery of it, how can I go about to undeciev him ? that would be popery indeed of another kind, (viz.) to preach one thing and profeſs another.

Here a man is embarraſſt in an inextricable labrinth: he is bound on one hand to ſee the fool (nature forbids ſhutting our eyes againſt the light), and he is bound on the other hand to recognize the wit ; and, which is the part particularly perplexing, both theſe center in the ſame object, yet it muſt be done, the laws of Nature command one, and the rules of decency, which is nature in a gentleman, oblige the other. Thus he ſubmits to worſhip the idol when the deity is abſent, as our people bow to the candles upon the altar when they deny the Reall Preſence, a ſort of popery that every body may not think of.

I muſt ſay, however, 'tis ſomething hard that, when Coll. Ch . . . . . rattles at W . . . . s and talks ſo ridiculouſly that the very foot-men grin and ſneer at it, I muſt ſit by and ſay *yes* and *no* juſt as his brains jingle, and accquiſce in what every body that hears him knows to be the worſt of nonſence onely becauſe he weares a red coat and a ſword, and, it may be, has two or three orderly men, corporalls or ſergeants allways at his heels, who will knock a man down with their halberds, if we ſhould not let him knock us down with his toungue.

I once met caſually with one of thoſe ſons of ignorance in a country coffee-houſe. He had in his company two clergy-men[1] and his younger brother. One of the clergy-men[1] was the chapline of the family, the other a divine of ſome note in the next town, who, however, enjoy'd a living by the gift of thoſe two gentlemen's father, who was yet alive, tho' the ſons were both of them then grown.

The two brothers had a warm diſcourſe about learning and wit, and it was as much as both the clergy-men could do to keep them from quarrelling.

The younger brother had been bred at the Univerſity, and had acquir'd a good ſtock of learning, which he had the felicity to graft upon a noble ſtock of originall ſence. He had a genius above the common rate, and, as it was improv'd by a liberall educacion, it made him extremely valued by the beſt men, and particularly quallify'd by a polite converſation for the beſt company. The elder brother was a gentleman, that is, he was heir to an eſtate of about 3000 pounds a year, and expected to be choſen Parliament man at an eleccion which was then at hand. He had been a hunting early that morning, and his man ſtood at the coffee houſe door with the French horn in his hand; and the muſtering being juſt ready to go home, the park and manſion houſe being about a mile out of the town, but meeting with his younger brother in the town, with the two clergy men, they came all together to the coffee houſe to read the news. When every one taking a ſeverall paper in his hand, *f.* 17. the gentleman happens to read a paragraph telling us that ſuch a gentleman was made Commiſſioner in ſome buſineſs or other, I do not remember whether of the Cuſtomes or Exciſe or ſome other employment under the Government; at which he threw down the paper in a kind of paſſion:

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[1] MS. *Clergy man.*

"D . . . . m 'em," ſayes he, "what fool muſt he be now that they have given him a place!"

"Who is it?" ſayes the brother.

"Why, there," ſayes he, "look, 'tis that beggarly fellow, Sir Tho . . . ."

"Why, brother?" ſayes the younger, "he is a very pretty gentleman I aſſure you, a man of merit, and fit for any employment whatſoever."

"A gentleman and a man of merit, what d'ye mean by that? What family is he of? Why, his grandfather was a citizen, a tradeſman! he a gentleman!"

Younger: "I don't kno' what his father was, or his grandfather; but I aſſure you he has all the quallifications of a——"

Elder brother: "Of a what? of a ſcoundrel. I tell you he is but one remove from a ſhopkeeper, his father was a——"

Younger: "Nay I muſt interrupt you now, brother, as you did me. Let his father be what he will, his merit will make a gentleman of him in ſpite of family; beſides he is a baronet by birth."

Elder: "A baronet? yes, his father got money by bubbling and tricking and jobbing, and bought a patent of a poor gentleman that was ſtarving."

Younger: "Let the patent be bought by who it will; he inherits it, he didn't buy it."

Elder: "Well that does not make him a gentleman; you kno' what King Charles ſaid, that he could make a knight, but could not make a gentleman."

Younger: "But I tell you, Sir Thomas was a gentleman before he was a knight."

Elder: "How do ye make out that, Doctor, with all your ſchollarſhip?"

Younger: "Don't be ſo witty upon your younger brother: I am no doctor, and yet I can make out that well enough. He was a man of vertue and modeſty, had a univerſall knowledge of the world, an extraordinary ſtock of ſence, and withall is a compleat ſchollar."

Elder: "And thoſe things, you ſuppoſe, make a gentleman, do ye?"

Younger: "They go a great way towards it, in my opinion, I muſt confeſs."

Elder: "Not at all! they may make him a good man perhaps and a good Chriſtian[1]; nay, they may make him good company, but not a gentleman, by no means. I can't allow that."

Younger: "Then I don't know what a gentleman is at all, or what it means."

Elder: Then I am ſorry for your head. Have you gone all this while to ſchool, and don't know what a gentleman is?"

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[1] Abbreviated in MS.

Younger: "I am mighty willing to learn, eſpecially of my elder brother."

Elder: "Why then your elder brother may teach you. I take him to be a gentleman that has the blood of a gentleman in his veins. Nothing can be a gentleman but the ſon of a gentleman."

Younger: "And vertue, parts, ſence, breeding, or religion, have no ſhare in it."

Elder: "Not at all. They may conſtitute a good man, if you will, but not a gentleman. He may be the D . . . if he will, he is ſtill a gentleman."

Younger: "Well then let me be the good man, and you ſhall be the gentleman. But I tell you, Sir Thomas has a thouſand good things in him, and above all I take him to be that good man too; for he is a very religious gentleman."

Elder: "Very good then; he would have made a good parſon, it may be, or a biſhop; but what's that to a gentleman?"

Here the miniſter put in, tho' modeſtly too: "Sir," ſayes he, "I hope you will allow a clergy-man may be a gentleman."

Elder: "What, do I touch your cloth too, Doctor? I don't allow it I aſſure you. A parſon a gentleman? No, I aſſure you I allow no tradeſmen[1] to be gentlemen."

Then the chaplain ſpoke: "That's too hard, Sir," ſayes he, "upon our cloth. I hope you don't call us tradeſmen[1] neither."

Elder brother: "Not tradeſmen[1]? why, what are you? Is it not your buſineſs to work for your bread, and is not that your trade[2]? Is not the pulpit your ſhop, and is not this your apron, M^r^ Book Beater?"—Here he took up a chaplain's ſcarf and gave it a twirle into his face, at which both the clergy-men roſe up, as if they would be gon; but the younger brother took him up, but with reſpect.

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[1] MS. *T men*, as often.

[2] MS. *T*, as often.

Younger brother: "O brother, don't abuſe your friends! remember you are a gentleman, what ever they are; and I think they are gentlemen too."

Elder brother: "I find my brother don't kno' what *f.* 18. a gentleman is, indeed. Pray how do you make it out with all your ſchool trumpery? A parſon a gentleman, how do you prove that?"

Younger: "It is not my buſineſs to prove them gentlemen by birth, becauſe I don't kno' their familyes; but I kno' there are ſome very good familyes of both their names. But there is ſuch a thing as being a gentleman by office. What d'ye think of that?"

Elder: "By office! What ſort of gentlemen are they, pray?"

Younger: "Why, for example, tho' I did not mean that, the King's Comiſſion I think conſtitutes a gentleman effectually. Don't we call an officer in the Army a gentleman? I think fighting for his country and his King, and entruſted by the King with command, gives him a title."

Elder: "I don't kno' that; he is at beſt but a mercenary."

Younger: "No, no. Mercenaries were allwayes ſuch ſoldiers as are hyr'd out from one nation to another meerly for pay, ſuch as the Swiſs, the Griſons, and ſuch as they. But we muſt diſtinguiſh in this caſe. Soldiers entred into the ſervice of their Soveraign can not be called mercenaries."

Elder: "Well, but the parſons don't were the King's Comiſſion: what's that to them?"

Younger: "I don't kno' how you'l come off, that way: they wear a higher comiſſion than[1] the King's, I aſſure you."

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[1] MS. y^n.

Elder: "A commiſſion d'ye call it? what, the biſhop's commiſſion! that won't do. That's all a church trick, a peice of prieſt craft."

Then the miniſter put in again: "Come, gentlemen," ſayes he, "pray, don't differ about us. The young gentleman ſhall call us what he pleaſes. We have a higher commiſſion than he thinks of, or perhaps he has not ſpent many thoughts about it. Whether the King can do it or not, we won't diſpute; but we have our commiſſion from him that, we are ſure, can make a gentleman. Pray, don't differ about that."

Younger: "Well, I believ your claim good that way too, and I take a clergyman to be a gentleman by office, too, tho' that was not what I meant."

Elder: "It's well if you kno' what you meant."

Younger: "Yes, I kno' what I meant, and I nam'd it to you before. I ſay a man that beares the King's Commiſſion and is entruſted with the command of his ſubjects in the field, is a man of honour, and I think a clergy-man the ſame on account of his office. Pray, what would you call the ſon of an officer in the Army or the ſon of a dignify'd clergy-man?"

Elder: "I ſuppoſe you kno' what they are call'd abroad, brother. To call a man the ſon of a prieſt is to call him the ſon of a whore."

Younger: "That's quite another caſe; that's becauſe of the celibacy of the Romiſh clergy; but we muſt diſtinguish between Proteſtant and Popiſh."

Elder: "Yes, yes; and you muſt diſtinguiſh between a prieſt and a gentleman."

Younger: "Not at all; unleſs it be to the miniſter's great advantage, viz., that he may be a gentleman by birth and by office, too."

Elder: "That's no diſtincion at all."

Younger: "But I diſtinguish again; I ſay there are gentlemen by birth and gentlemen by education, and I inſiſt that the laſt is the better of the two; for he is the beſt and trueſt originall of a gentleman, and has been ſo, of all the familyes of gentlemen in England; or elſe they have no originalls at all."

Elder: "I thought we ſhould have ſome of your ſchool logic; it's much you had not given us ſome old ſcraps of Latin to make out this new diſtinccion. Engliſh-men, they ſay, allways talk other people's Latin and none of their own."

Younger brother: "Well, I neither talkt other people's Latin or my own. I was not willing to affront my elder brother."

Elder: "What d'ye mean by that? pray explain yourſelf." [*Speaks angrily.*]

Younger: "Why, I would not ſpeak a language my brother did not underſtand. If I muſt explain myſelf, I muſt."

Elder: "I don't deſire to underſtand it, I hate all your pedantry; but what's that to your learned diſtinccion of a gentleman by birth and a gentleman by educacion?"

Younger: "No, no, it's nothing to my diſtincion; it was onely a return to my brother's witt; you was ſo ſharp upon me."

Elder: "I wit? I have enough to ſerv me. I have wit enough for a gentleman. I hate your wits. I would not be a-kin to a wit if I could help it."

Younger: "Nor I to a fool."

Elder: "I hope you mean my father. I wiſh he was preſent to hear you."

Younger: "You can't ſuppoſe I meant my father, becauſe he is known to have more wit and more learning than all of us, and if he was here he would not ſee room to think I meant him."

Elder: "Then you mean your brother: which if

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I thought you did, I ſhould let you kno' I reſent it as I ought to do."

Younger: "I mean nothing but what I ſay; and I am neither afraid of what I ſaid or what I meant or of any body's reſentment." [*Now they grew very hot.*]

Elder: "Then I deſire you to explain your ſelf again."

Younger: "You ought to explain firſt; you made the firſt refleccion."

Elder: "What ſhould I explain?"

Younger: "Why, what you meant by being a-kin to a witt. I ſay that is a full refleccion upon my father."

Elder: "I thought you would have taken it to yourſelf."

Younger: "No; no; tho' I am no witt, yet I have more wit than that, too. If you meant me you will be agreeably diſſapointed, I aſſure you, tho' I am none the leſs obliged to you for your good will."

Elder: "So I muſt mean my father, muſt I? that's as wiſe as the reſt."

Younger: "I kno' ne're another wit in the family. You muſt mean my father or have no meaning."

Elder: "Then it may be I had no meaning."

Younger: "No, no, that's too polite for an elder brother, too."

Elder: "Ay, ay, you younger brothers have all the witt, that makes 'em have ſo little manners."

f. 19. *Younger:* "That's all upon my father again. I don't think my father wants manners any more than he does witt or learning."

Elder: "But his younger ſon may for all that."

Younger: "I have heard my father thank God many a time that he was a younger brother."

Elder: "And what for, pray?"

Younger: "Becauſe if he had not, he ſaid, he would have been a blockhead, an untaught lump of ignorance and pride, as his elder brother was and as moſt of the eldeſt ſons of his acquaintance were."

Elder: "And as his own eldeſt ſon is, you ſhould ſay."

Younger: "Nay, that's your own. I ſay nothing but my father's words: if you have a mind to come in for a ſhare of it, you may make your beſt of it, I ſha'n't meddle with that."

Elder: "You are ſo farr from good manners that you are impudent. I don't believ you ever heard the words, or that ever my father ſaid ſo."

Younger: "Why, had you not given me the lye in your abundant manners? You need not boaſt ſo much of being a gentleman."

Elder: "It is none of your place to tell me a falſe thing any more than 'tis to tell me of my manners."

Younger: "Look you, Sir, giving me the lye is a kind of uſage that takes away all relation. I kno' what's my place as well as you do; but I aſſure you I'll no more take the lye from my elder brother than I will from a porter. I don't think that's my place at all."

Elder: "I think you have forgot being a gentleman. I wiſh my father was not cheated. I think you was nurſt abroad, wa'nt you?"

The gentlemen began now to be ſo hot 'twas time to part 'em, eſpecially ſeeing it was in public too; for the younger brother layd his hand upon his ſword.

However, the clergymen pacify'd them with entreaties, and two or three of the townſmen put in to help reconcile 'em; ſo they ſat downe again and were good friends for a little while; but they had better have parted them at firſt and let them have gone home aſſunder as they came out. For falling into other diſcourſe, one thing brought forward another, and in a little time, they fell to it again upon the ſame ſubject.

The younger brother happens to read a paragraph from Edinburgh, where there was an account of a man that was tryed and ſentenc't to death for a robbery and a very barbarous cold-blood murther. But that when the Lords of the Juſticiary, thoſe are the judges in the criminal caſes in that country, came to paſs ſentence, that ſentenc'd him to be beheaded, becauſe he was a gentleman, being it ſeems the third ſon of a laird (or country eſquire) in that country.

The young gentleman laugh'd, but ſaid nothing, and gave the print to one of the clergy-men to read, and he ſmil'd, but lay'd down the paper wiſely declining to take any notice of it, becauſe he fear'd it might embroil the two brothers again.

But the elder brother perceiv'd there was ſomething extraordinary by their ſmiling, and aſk'd his brother what he laught at. He endeavour'd to put it off, and ſo did the miniſter but he would not be anſwer'd ſo. However, not being able to get any anſwer from them that was ſatiſfactory, he takes up the paper himſelf.

f. 19 *b.* When he comes to the ſtory, too, he laught as they did and ſhows it the chaplain. "Here," ſayes he, "ſee how civil they are to young brothers in Scotland."

The clergyman reply'd: "No, Sir, it was not a civillity as he was a younger brother, but as he was a gentleman."

"I don't kno'," ſayes he, "I think ſtrictly ſpeaking younger brothers ſhould not be call'd gentlemen."

"Your ſervant, Mr. Elder Brother," ſayes the young gentleman, "Pray how, then, come you to call yourſelf a gentleman? I think your father was a younger brother."

"And your ſervant, Mr. *Cadet," ſayes the elder. "He was the eldeſt when he came to the eſtate; or elce how did he claim the inheritance."

(N.B. *Cadet is the French word for the younger ſon of a gentleman's family.)

Younger: "So that according to you a man may be a gentleman and no gentleman, both in a quarter of an hour."

Elder: "Yes, yes; if I were hang'd you would be a gentleman; there's no queſtion of that."

Younger: "If you pleaſe to walk into Scotland, you ſee you may ſecure yourſelf from being hang'd, be as wicked as you will."

"But, Sir," ſayes one of the clergymen, "I have heard that in Scotland, if a gentleman is executed for murther, the blood is attainted and his heirs are, ipſo facto, deprived not of the eſtate onely, but of the title of a gentleman as 'tis here in caſes of treaſon."

Younger: "So then, that ſacred thing call'd a gentleman is forfeited by crime."

Elder: "I don't think that very juſt; 'tis puniſhing the children for the father."

Younger: "But it ſerves to my point exactly: if crime may unmake a gentleman, why ſhould not vertue and education conſtitute a gentleman?"

Elder: "You talk like a younger brother, indeed."

Younger: "Well, then I don't talk like a fool."

Elder: "No, no; the younger brothers have all the witt; it ſhould be ſo becauſe they are younger ſons."

Younger: "I ſuppoſe that's the reaſon you would have no younger ſons be call'd gentlemen."

Elder: "I underſtand you as I ſuppoſe you underſtand yourſelf. Your elder brothers are all fools; you would have them be ſo."

Younger: "No, I would not have all the elder brothers be fools, but I would have all the fools be among the eldeſt ſons, and I think a good ſhare of them are ſo."

Elder: "Well! well! I the eſtate and you the wit. I won't change with you."

Younger: "Nor I with you for your eſtate, if it were more than it is."

Elder: "But if I were hang'd you'd be the eldeſt ſon, and then you'd be a fool too, of courſe, wouldn't you?"

Younger: "Aſk my father that queſtion, I tell you he was a younger brother."

f. 20. *Elder:* "The younger ſons ſhould have all the wit; ſometimes they have nothing elſe to liv on."

Younger: "I'd run the venture of the laſt if I were ſure of the firſt."

Elder: "The heir you kno' has no need of the wit, if he has but the eſtate."

Younger: "If you think ſo, you are happy."

Elder: "Ay, ay. I am very well ſatiſfy'd; the eſtate's enough for me."

Younger: "Moſt eldeſt ſons are of your mind, and that makes us ſee ſo many heirs that can't write their own names."

Elder: "No matter; if they can but read their own names in the deeds of their inheritance."

Younger: "'Tis a bleſſed character of the Engliſh gentry; there's ſcarſe one in five of them can ſpeak good Engliſh."

Elder: "I have heard you talk of ſuch and ſuch familyes and gentlemen, that ſuch a one was a good ſchollar and ſuch an one was a man of fence: and yet they had good eſtates."

Younger: "Yes, I do remember four that I uſ'd to name, but three of them were bred up younger ſons or elce they had been——"

Elder: "Blockheads like the reſt of the gentry."

Younger: "You ſpeak more truth than your ſhare, brother."

Elder: "And you ſomething leſs."

Younger: "I ſpeak nothing but what I believ to be true; and if it was to be enquir'd into, I believ it would appear that, thro'-out England, take thoſe few of our gentry and nobillity who are men of learning and wit, men fit for miniſters of State, honours and employment, and you may find two thirds of them were younger ſons and ſo had their parts cultivated by liberall educacion, as it were by accident."

Elder: "I hope the eldeſt ſons may be born with as much wit and ſence as the youngeſt. The gifts of nature are not learnt at ſchool."

Younger: "They are improv'd at ſchool: thoſe rough diamonds are poliſhed by the ſchools and by the help of books and inſtruccion."

Elder: "And ſometimes as well without: a good genius will improv itſelf."

Younger: "Why iſn't it ſo then? Where is there an eldeſt ſon in 20 bred to Letters? How many do we ſee at the Univerſities?"

Elder: "A great many."

Younger: "Not a great many compar'd to the number: of thirty thouſand familys of noblemen and gentlemen of eſtate which may be reckon'd up in this kingdom, I venture to ſay there is not 200 of their eldeſt ſons at a time to be found in both our Univerſitys. At the ſame time you ſhall find ten times that number of their younger ſons."

Elder: "And what's done with the eldeſt ſons then? What, are they taught nothing?"

Younger: "Very little truly. They are bred at home." *f.* 21.

Elder: "They are bred like gentlemen."

Younger: "Yes, yes, they are bred like gentlemen and taught like gentlemen, that is, taught nothing."

Elder: "They have tutors and preceptors kept to wait on them."

Younger: "Kept to play with them you ſhould ſay."

Elder: "Ay, and to teach them too."

Younger: "Yes, to teach them to be wicked, inſtill the love of their pleaſures into them very early, teach them to waſt their firſt houres in which the mind is moſt capable of improvment till at laſt 'tis too late and they puſh into the world juſt as they happen to be form'd by nature, rough and unpoliſhed and either coarſe or fine, knowing or ignorant, juſt as it happens. And this is the generall caſe with moſt of our gentlemen."

Elder: "And yet they are the compleateſt gentlemen in the world."

Younger: "I don't grant that, I aſſure you."

Elder: "I hope you grant they are the richeſt."

Younger: "Perhaps, take them one with another, they may be the richeſt; but what does that argue in their favour?"

Elder: "Well then, they will allwayes be the beſt; I ſee nothing in it; if we have but the eſtates, let all the reſt of your fine jingle fall as it will; for my part I don't value it a ſtraw. I have the better of you there, brother."

Younger: "I don't envy you. I tell you I would not change with you."

Elder: "Change? prethee what hav you to change? Giv me the eſtate; what have you to offer in exchange? Your ſcraps of Latin, your ſhreds of wit, your pretences to ſobriety. If you could part with them, carry them to market and ſee if they would yeild you money to buy a horſe to ride on."

Younger: "You talk like yourſelf ſtill. If I had all thoſe things you deſpiſe, as learning, witt, ſence, and vertue; as they are not to be ſold, ſo remember they are not to be bought; all your eſtate won't purchaſe them."

Elder: "I wouldn't giv you my fox-hounds for all your vaſt colleccion of books, tho' my father was to give you his library to joyn with 'em."

Younger: "And I won't giv my books for you and your fox-hounds put together."

Elder: "You couple us well; that's ſomething like a younger brother, I confeſs."

Younger: I have yourſelf for my author; it was but yeſterday when you were ſwearing at your huntſman for going out a little before you; did not you damn him for not taking all the pack together? and when he very innocently told you he had all the pack, but your Worſhip *was not ready*, did not you very wittily damn him for not joyning his words better together?"

Thus far the two brothers went on between jeſt and earneſt, and the two clergymen ſat by very uneaſie for fear of miſchief between them; for they afterwards fell to words again about ſome of their family broils, which do not relate to our preſent buſineſs, nor is it fit to be made public; at length, however, they parted 'em; and the eſquire called his man to bring him the French horn, and began to make a bluſter and a noiſe in the houſe; which being very diſagreeable to his brother and the two miniſters, they dropt out one by one and left him. *f.* 22.

After they were gone, he ſends for two or three townſmen, mean, ſorry fellows, but ſuch as the place afforded and ſuch as uſually hung about him, flattering and praiſing him and withall uſually ſpung'd upon him for what they could get; with theſe he goes to the next houſe, which was an inn and tavern, *as is* *uſuall in the country*, and there he gets ſomething to eat, ſitts after dinner with his ſots till he got very drunk, and then ſends his horſes home and orders the coach to fetch him: and ſo ended the day like a gentleman.

I might giv you many examples of this kind to illuſtrate the character of this born gentleman; but we ſee it ſo frequent in every place, in all company, and allmoſt on all occaſions, that it would be needleſs. I ſhall however have occaſion to ſpeak to ſeverall other parts of it as I go on.

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CAP. II.[1]

IF the introduccion of gentlemen were in all nacions and in all ages the ſame, and we had nothing ſingular to our ſelves in it; if our gentlemen were brought up and introduc'd into ſocyety in the ſame manner as it is in other nacions; or, which is the loweſt and meaneſt ſtep we can take in their favour, if the gentlemen of other nacions were manag'd juſt after the model of ours, I had little or nothing to ſay, at leaſt we ſhould have nothing left us but to complain of the generall calamity of humane nature, and that the age was entirely given up to pride and ignorance, that the gentry were levell'd with the commonalty, the great and the noble with the mean and the baſe, and, in a word, there was now no difference between the lord and his footman, the landlord and his tennant. For as the body is without the head, ſo is the head without the brains; as the ſhip is without a helm, and the helm without the ſteers-man and the ſteers-man without a

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[1] The following heading has been struck out :—

Of the great miſtakes in the firſt mannaging the children of gentlemen, and of the horrible corrupcion of blood from the ſuckling them by thoſe [three words thickly scratched out].

That the ignorance and the bad educacion of gentlemen of quallity and fortune is no where in Chriſtendome ſo entirely neglected as in this nacion, and ſome thing of the conſequences of it.

pilot, ſo is the man that has brains, without his books, or with his brains and his books, without a teacher to inſtruct. Of what uſe is it to a man that he has a tongue to ſpeak, that he has books to read, if he has no ear? if he cannot hear he can never ſpeak, at leaſt
f. 23. can not be ſaid to have the uſe of ſpeech; he can not judge of ſounds, nor can he form the common ideas of what he ſees for want of knowing the names of things and the uſes to which they are applyed.

What is all the muſick in the world, all the harmony of ſounds to a deaf man? all is loſt while the organ is cloſed up, and the veſſells which form the ear can not diſcharge the functions of their office.

To me an untaught, unpoliſh'd gentleman is one of the moſt deplorable objects in the world. 'Tis a noble, ſtately and beautifull organ without the bellows to fill the harmonious pipes and form the ſound. The ſoul of ſuch a perſon ſeems to be like a lyon in a cage, which, tho' it has all the ſtrength, the beauty, the courage of a lyon, is yet ſurrounded with unpaſſable barrs and a checquer-work of reſtraints, and can neither exert its ſtrength or its ſwiftneſs, or ſhow its terrors among the four footed world as, if he were at liberty, nature would dictate to him to do.

What ſecret unaccounted for poſeſſion can it be, then, that has thus ſeiz'd upon the ſences of our gentry, more than upon others? 'Tis no compliment upon our nativ country to ſay of it that we have as illuſtrious a nobillity and as numerous a body of gentry as any nation in Europe. To this we may add, and all Europe will acknowledge it, that our nobillity and gentry, even in ſpite of immoderate profuſion, which for ſome yeares was a kind of an epidemick diſtemper upon them, are ſtill at this time the richeſt, and have the greateſt and beſt eſtates, and hold them upon the beſt tenure, of any nation in the world.

It may be true that there are ſome few perſonal excepcions in the world as to wealth, that is to ſay, that in ſome nations there are certain particular perſonages who have greater eſtates than any ſingle or particular perſon or family in England; the excepcions are very few, and therefore I may venture to name them.

1. In Spain and Italy, and perhaps in moſt Popiſh countryes, the clergy are richer, that is to ſay the archbiſhops and biſhops and ſome abbots have greater revenues than any of our proteſtant clergy of lik rank, as eſpecially in Spain, where ſeverall of their archbiſhops and biſhops have from £10,000 to £50,000 ſterling per annum revenue, and a biſhop of 20,000 peices[1] of eight is reckon'd but an indiffrent thing. Such as theſe are the Archbiſhop of Toledo, of Seville, of Mexico, of Naples and others, and the Biſhops of Granada, of Malaga, and of Los Angelos. The firſt of theſe is ſaid to be worth above £80,000 a year ſterling, and the laſt about £25,000 a year, and ſo in their degree of others; and they reckon in generall in Spain ten Biſhops whoſe revenue is from £10,000 a year upwards. As to the revenue of the cardinals[2] which are generally made up by plurallityes of livings, ſuch as abbyes and biſhopricks, there are few of them who do not enjoy from 10 to £20,000 a year revenue, and ſome of them 30 to £40,000 ſterling.

2. Likewiſe ſome of the nobillity in Spain, eſpecially ſuch as have been Viceroys of Mexico, Peru, formerly of Naples or Sicily; ſuch alſo as have been governors of the Manillas, of Chartagena, S^t Jago in Chili, and ſuch places as are eminent for wealth. Moſt of theſe *f.* 23 *b.* are indeed immenſly rich. It is the like among the princes of the Blood in France, ſome of whom have from 50,000 to 150,000 piſtols revenue, likewiſe ſome

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[1] MS. *ps.*, as often.

[2] MS. *Cá.*

who have acquired great eſtates by public ſervices, as ſome of the Mareſchalls of France, particularly the Mareſchall Duke of Luxemberg, Villeroy, Villars, Vendoſme, Berwick, the old Duke de Nemours, Count de Tholouſe, Duke of Noailles, and ſome others.

But theſe eſtates are all either raiſ'd in the ſervice and by infinite advantages of the war, of which our Marlbro', Cadogan, and others may be called examples at home, or ſuch as depend upon the abſolute will and pleaſure of the king, which they call His Majeſty's[1] bounty and conſiſts of penſions, which they call in the princes of the Blood appennage, and governments which are places of honour with the profits annex'd.

But to go back, take the eſtates of the Engliſh nobillity and gentry, as ſtated before, and except onely, as I have ſaid, a few forreigners, and I inſiſt, as above, that our nobillity and gentry out-do the nobillity and gentry of any nacion in the world.

How many private gentlemen might be nam'd in England who enjoy eſtates of from 5 to 15000 pound ſterling value per annum, and all in, or as good as, freehold land! How many eſtates which do not rate at abov £1000 per annum rent, have 40 to 50 to 60,000 pounds in timber upon them, which may be valued upon them, and do the woods no hurt to have it fell'd; and other eſtates have mines, minerall quarryes, coal pits, etc., in proporcion.

Add to this that which is the glory of the Engliſh gentry abov all the nacions in the world, (viz.) that their property in theſe eſtates is in themſelves; that they are neither ſubject to the frowns or the caprices of the ſoveraign on any diſlike or diſſatiſfaccions; that they inherit their lands *in capite*, abſolutely and by entail, which even treaſon it ſelf can not forfeit or cut off any farther than for the life of the delinquent; that they are not ſubjected to any homages or ſervices by their tenures. All the knight's ſervice and vaſſallage is aboliſh'd, they are as abſolutely poſeſſ'd of their mannours and freehold as a prince is of his crown. Nor can they be oppreſſ'd with taxes, arbitrary impoſitions, quartring of ſoldiers, or any of the ordinary oppreſſions of ſubjects in uſe under arbitrary governments; nothing can be levyed on them but by conſent in Parliament, where chooſing their own members every man may be ſaid to giv his own conſent before he can be tax'd, that is, in ſhort, to have the giving of his own money; all which particulars being conſidred, a gentleman's eſtate in England is worth 5 times the income in penſions or governments which are at the will of the granter, or than lands, however ſettled or entail'd, that are ſubject to the taxes, impoſitions, quartring of ſoldiers and other ravages of the Sovereign, I ſhould have ſaid, the *tyrants*, which is the condicion of allmoſt all the inheritances in Europe.

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[1] ·*M* in MS.

The concluſion of all this revolvs upon us with great diſadvantage in the caſe before me, becauſe all this felicity is attended with the unhappineſs of a voluntary and affected ſtupidity and ignorance, which, being the caſe of a ſet of gentlemen who by all their other circumſtances[1] are quallifyed to be the moſt compleatly happy of any people in the world, and to be made, nay to make themſelves, the envy, the admiration, and the example of all the gentry in Chriſtendome,[2] are yet made deſpicable by their own choice, miſerable in the midſt of the higheſt humane felicity, and are become the ſcoff and contempt of their inferiours even in the *f.* 24. ſame country, as well as of their equalls in all the neighbouring countryes that know them; and to add to the abſurdity of this, like the Muſcovites they ſupport the practiſe with an obſtinacy not to be deſcrib'd but by the example of that ſtupid people who, fond of their old follys, would rather dye than be made wiſer, who thought it was a diſhonour to learn any thing from other nacions, however juſt, humane, prudent, or agreeable to their reaſon.

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[1] Abbreviation in MS.

[2] *Xdome.*

With what obſtinacy will ſome of our ignorant gentlemen argue againſt learning ; with what contempt do they treat the bookiſh part of the world, inſiſt upon it that their dogs and their horſes, their ſport, and their bottle are the proper buſſineſs of a gentleman ; that his pleaſures are appointed to him for his full employment ; that Heaven gave them eſtates to enjoy them, as they call this way of living, to ſatiate their ſouls with good, and to remove them from all the dull unpleaſant part of life called buſſineſs and applicacion.

They tell us that they do not ſeem to underſtand the bleſſing deſign'd for them if they don't kno' what ſtacion they are plac'd in ; that the world is given them to taſt the ſweet of it, and to fill themſelves with its delights, and that they are to underſtand it as Providence[1] underſtood it when he gave it them.

They ſubjoyn to this that the language of Heaven to them is, "Eat, drink and be merry ! Have not I given thee that which anſwers all things ?"—that honours are for the ambitious ; their ſphere is like the glorious ſun to mov in their own circle, that they may indeed ſhine upon others and warm others by charity and doing beneficent things among their neighbours and tennants, but that to go out of their orbit of happyneſs is below them.

As for wars, let beggars and mercenaryes be knock't on the head for wages : they have money to pay ſoldiers. What buſſineſs have they to hazard their lives, harraſs and expoſe themſelves when they may ſtay at home and be eaſie ? Let the ambitious wretches hunt for fame and to wear feathers in their caps. Their fame is written over their doors, viz., that there lives an Engliſh gentleman of an antient family and a good eſtate, and their buſſineſs is to hunt the ſtag and the fox with their own hounds and among their own woods; that their fame is in the field of pleaſure, not the field of battle. Innocent delights take up their time, ranging the country for their game, not ravaging the country for ſpoil, not murthering the people and turning the pleaſant world and the fruitfull fields into deſolation.

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[1] The MS. has a *D* with a dot in the middle.

As to books and reading, 'tis a good, dull, poreing work for the parſons and the pedants. They don't ſee that all the learning in the world makes men better, but they generally learn more knavery than honeſty: the ſtateſ-men ſtudy bribery and corrupcion to carry on faccion and parties; the phyſitians learn to pick pockets one way, and the lawyers another; ſcience and arts, what do they aim at, and where do they end? All iſſues in the art to get money: and what has a gentleman to do with all this? Heaven has given him money, and he has enough; 'tis below him to get money, his buſineſs is to ſpend it. He has enough, and he that has enough can be no richer, if he had twice as much. If he at laſt ſhould grow covetous and pretend to encreaſe his wealth, why, 'tis but retrenching a little, and his eſtate will encreaſe it ſelf. A gentleman of 2000 a year may be as rich as he will; let him but lay up one thouſand pound a year, and in twenty year his eſtate will double, and in twenty more it will double again, and ſo on from father to ſon, till *f.* 25. in two generacions the family ſhall have twenty thouſand pound a year, or as much more as he pleaſes.

"And what am I the better" (ſaid the ſame warm gentleman I mencioned juſt now) "for all this ſaving and ſcraping? Da...m all your good huſbandry.

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It is given me to ſpend, and I'll ſpend it. I'll not ſpend beyond it. No! No! I abhorr to be dun'd. I'll ne're run in debt neither. I'll leav my ſon as well as my father left his ſon. I'll warrant I won't leſſen it; but for the reſt, let the uſerer lay up his money, 'tis my proper buſſineſs to ſpend it; 'tis my *calling;* Heaven has given it me that I ſhould enjoy it, and it would be a ſin in me to lay it up. Let the money circulate, and let the poor be the better for it. I have heard my old grandſather ſay that they that hoarded money injur'd the Common Wealth, that money was made round that it might wheel about the world, roll from hand to hand, and make the world glad: and yet my grandſather, tho' he was a merry old knight, left the eſtate better than he found it, and planted a thouſand acres of woods, that are now full of good timber, and I may cut them down when I will."

This is a kind of merry rhetorick, and is ſo unhappily calculated to pleaſe and humour our gentlemen, that it is next to impoſſible to anſwer it, I mean to anſwer it ſo as to convince them that they are in the wrong.

'Tis in vain to quote the examples of the wiſe and the great; they deſpiſe it all. They deſire to be no wiſer or greater than they are. Mother-wit they tell you is enough to keep them out of harm's way, that is, from bites and ſharpers; and as for other learning, they ſee nothing in it.

Thus admirably did Solomon draw the picture of this kind of a gentleman in a few words, when he tells us, *The fool has no delight in underſtanding.* Theſe people have no taſt of things, no reliſh for improvements either of their underſtandings or eſtates.

When the late Czar of Muſcovy was upon his travells and often times lookt into the Univerſityes, the libraryes, the labratories of the men of learning and art, he uſed to turn himſelf about to Monſieur[1] Le Fort, his great favourite, and ſmiling would ſay, "When ſhall I bring my ſtupid people to underſtand theſe things?"

It was very remarkable that in all his vaſt and populous city of Moſcow they had not a printing preſs; and when he ſet one up among them, the Boyars ſaid, "And what ſygnifyed reading books to us? What is it to us how the reſt of the world live? we kno' how to liv at home." Their beſt ſurgeons knew nothing of anatomy; their beſt aſtronomers knew nothing of ecclypſes; they had not a ſkeleton in the whole empire, except what might be natural in their graves; their geographers had not a globe; their ſeamen not a compaſs (by the way they had no ſhips), even their phyſitians had no books. Experiments were the hight of their knowlege, and ſo we may ſuppoſe when a practiſer had killed 4 or 500 he might paſs for a doctor.

Even their handicrafts had no tools; there was not a Ruſſian clock-maker or watch-maker to be found in the whole empire: if there were ſome Germans at Moſcow who had ſome tolerable ſkill, the Ruſſes, tho' they might buy a clock of them, would never learn to make one, or put any of their ſons to the trade; to travell abroad, to ſee the world and encreaſe their knowlege by the experience and example of other nacions, was reckon'd ſcandalous, was below the dignity and quallity of the gentleman; and when the Czar himſelf did it the learned clergy (with pardon for the ſlander) reproach't him with it as a ſin; and when he return'd and endeavour'd to conform his people to the beſt cuſtoms of other nations, and eſpecially when he ſet up ſchooles to inſtruct the children in languages and in arts and ſciences, and oblig'd the Boyars, that is, the country gentlemen, to ſend their children to them and teach them to write and read, they proteſted againſt all thoſe innovations, ay, and at laſt raiſ'd a rebellion for the liberty of being ignorant.

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[1] *Monſ^r.*

f. 25 b. It may be true that this is an example of brutallity and meer obſtinacy, and the worſe, as their cuſtomes were inconſiſtent with common ſence: and it is true it is ſo.

But I can not but think 'tis very appoſite to the caſe before me, notwithſtanding[1] that for the obſtinate rejecting ſo glorious an improvement as that of giving learning to a gentleman of fortune, is in my notion of it as diſſagreeable with common ſence as the groſſeſt peice of brutallity inſiſted on by the poor Muſcovites, and that with ſome aggravacions to the diſſadvantage of the paralell on our ſide, and which makes our practiſe be the greater ſcandal of the two.

1. That our gentlemen have inumerable examples at their very door of the advantages of learning, of the difference between a liberall education and the meer old woman litterature of a nurſe and a tutor: they may ſee the demonſtracion of it even in their own familyes, where the bright and the dull, the blind and the clear, the man of ſence and learning and the blockhead, is as often to be diſſcern'd as the heir and the cadet are ſeen together, where one is untaught and good for nothing becauſe he is to have the eſtate, and the other is poliſh'd and educated becauſe he is to make his fortune; the laſt is to be prepar'd to liv by his witts, and the other is to have no wits or, at beſt, no learning, becauſe he can liv without them, as if education like an apprentice-ſhip was for no body but they that were to trade with it and make a trade[2] of it.

2. Another thing in which we are more to be reproacht than the Muſcovite is, that ignorance in Muſcovy is generall and nationall, and they have no encouragement for learning, nay, it may be ſaid they have no uſe

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[1] Abbreviated.

[2] MS. *T.*

for it; they neither ſee the benefit or the beauty of it: where-as here the obſtanacy is continued in ſpight of conviccion, nay, in ſpite of its being ſcandalous to themſelves, and even to the meaneſt of the people about them.

While this was ſo, 'tis not to be wondred at that the *f.* 26. gentry, the nobillity, and the beſt and wealthyeſt of the people in thoſe countries, were in lov with the ſordid ignorance they were bred in, and fond of going on in the ſame groſs cuſtomes which their darke guides led them in by their example: and this is the reaſon of my giving the Muſcovites for a paralell. For what we find here among our gentlemen is I think more inexcuſable and more ſcandalous than the worſt of it.

For here our gentlemen are brought up in the moſt obſtinate ignorance and folly, and fill'd early with the moſt riveted averſions to learning and improvement in the very face of an improving and knowing age, in ſpite of the encouragement every-were given to polite learning; where arts and ſcience flouriſh before their faces, and when the age they live in and the country they liv in is particularly fam'd over the whole Chriſtian[1] world for the higheſt improvements in the ſublimeſt ſtudyes, and where our maſters of ſcience are juſtly allow'd to have out-gone all that ever went before them in the world, ſuch as Sir Iſaac Newton, Mr. Lock, the great and truly honorable Mr. Boyl, who was not a gentleman onely, not a man of birth and blood as to antiquity onely, but in degree alſo, being of noble blood and of one of the familyes that has the most enobl'd branches of any in England and Ireland.

I could name many more who by illuſtrious birth and their more illuſtrious merit one would think have ſhown the world ſuch examples, and trac'd out ſuch paths of virtue, of learning and ſuperlativ underſtanding, that it were enough to have brought learning and good ſence into faſhion among us, and to have ſham'd the ignorance and illiterate blindneſs of the age out of the practiſe of the gentry.

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[1] MS. *X.*

But I am told, even while I am writeing theſe ſheets, that if I expect to make any impreſſion upon the age in this way of arguing I muſt change my method; that to talk to the gentlemen of learning and improvement after they have taſted the ſweets of idleneſs and pleaſure is to talk goſpell to a kettle-drum; that after they have follow'd the dogs and the hawks, and eaſ'd their fateagues of the chaſe with the bottle, there is no room for inſtruccion; but they go on, then, by the impetuoſity of their own guſt, following one game with another till the habit is rooted, till the blockhead and the heir are blended together and become inſeperable; that then the ignorance is ſeated in the blood as well as in the brain, and the brute becomes naturall to the man, ſo that there's no good to be expected that way; but that, if I expect to attack this ſhamefull peice of negligence, I muſt run it up to its original, and turn my pen f. 27. from the gentlemen, who are now paſt inſtruccion, and talk to the ladyes, who are the firſt inſtruments of inſtruccion, and who have the particular power as well as opportunity of printing the moſt early ideas in the minds of their children, who are able to make the firſt impreſſions upon their imagination and perhaps the ſtrongeſt and moſt durable; for the moſt early and timely hints given in a ſuitable manner to the underſtanding of a child, have generally a vaſt advantage, take the deepeſt root in the minds, and are hardly ever forgotten: Here, they tell me, I ſhould applye; that the ladyes alone are the agents who have the fate of their ſons in their power and can write them fools and fops or men of brains and ſence as they pleaſe; that theſe have them in their arms and upon their knees at the very moments when the moſt early hints are to be given to the mind, when the genius, like a peice of ſoft wax, may be moulded up to what form, and to reciev what impreſſions, they pleaſe, and when, a few obſtinacyes and meer incapacityes of nature excepted, a child may be form'd to be a man of ſence or a brute which they pleaſe.

I acknowlege this to be a juſt obſervacion in many and indeed in moſt caſes, eſpecially where the lady-mother has the heir in her own tutelage; and while ſhe has him ſo, 'tis not to be queſtioned but ſhe has an immoderate ſhare of his fate in her diſpoſe, and that it is very much, I had allmoſt ſaid too much, in her power to make him a wiſe man or a fool, a good man or a good-for-nothing man, as ſhe thinks fit; and it would be happy for the next age, tho' the preſent race is paſt this remedy, if the ladyes would ſhow a little concern about it; that they would have ſome pity upon their poſterity, and not give 'em up ſo very early, and, at leaſt, not ſo entirely to the negligence of thoſe murtherers of a child's moralls, call'd *tutors*.

It is indeed too true that this wealthy age is ſo entirely given up to pleaſure, and it prevails ſo much among the ladyes as well as among the men, that it grows a little unfaſhionable for the mothers to give them ſelves any trouble with their children, after they have 'em, but to order their dreſs and make them fine and to make a ſhow of them upon occaſion. 'Tis below a lady of quallity to trouble her ſelf in the nurſery, as 'tis below the gentleman of quallity to trouble himſelf with a library.

To talk to a lady at this time of day of medling with her children's educacion, forming their young minds by the moſt early inſtruccions, and infuſing infant ideas of religion and morall virtue into their ſouls, ridiculous ſtuff! You may as well talk of ſuckling them, a thing as unnatural now as if God and Nature had never intended it, or that Heaven had given the ladyes breaſts and milk for ſome other uſe.

I do not lov digreſſions at all, eſpecially long ones, and ſhall let you ſee it by making this, that ought to be and would bear a chapter by it ſelf, the ſubject of ſo few words.

I have been told that Queen Anne (the Firſt I might call her), I mean Queen Anne, wife or conſort to King James the Firſt, and daughter of the King of Denmarke, ſuckled all her own children; that, when it was objected to her that it was troubleſome to her and below her dignity, Her Majeſty anſwered with a kind of an admiration, Troubleſome! No, it was ſo far from troubleſome that ſhe thought it a pleaſure beyond all pleaſures, becauſe they were her own. "Beſides (ſayd Her Majeſtie) will I let my child, the child of a king, ſuck the milk of a ſubject, and mingle the royal blood with the blood of a ſervant. No! No! the ſon of a king ſhould ſuck none but the milk of a queen; and if it is not below me to bear children, 'tis not below me to feed them." This is the ſentence for which I quote the caſe, and make what I call a digreſſion.

Here was a true queen-mother, and it is left on record that ſhe was a moſt excellent princeſs. Now are our ladyes ſo nice in their diſtinccions of familyes? do they ſcorn ſo much to mix as they call it, the blood of a gentleman with the race of a mechannick, and think it below their quallity to match with any thing but a gentleman? and yet, when they have children will they ſuffer them to ſuck in the milk, which is no other than the half digeſted blood of a mechannick, nay, and that (as is generally the caſe) of the meaneſt of the mechannicks, for they generally ſeek for nurſes among the farmers' and plowmen's wives on pretence of ſtrong, healthy, and wholeſome women. Nay, they often chooſe the pooreſt of them, too, whoſe food is courſe and their drink hog waſh and belch, not generous wines as the lady her ſelf drinks. Nor are they aware, beſides the abſurdity of the thing, I ſay they are not aware of the juſt reproach they tacitly throw upon their own familye and even upon themſelves ; *I mean the mother*, as if, when ſhe had brought forth a child, perhaps in the prime and vigor of her youth and ſtrength, her own milk was not as wholeſome, as nouriſhing, and eſpecially as natural to her child as the milk of a ſtranger, or that the plowman's wife gave better milk than *my Lady.*

Some of the ſuggeſtions which would naturally follow this practiſe are too courſe for me to throw upon the ladyes, and I would ſay nothing that is ſhocking to them upon ſuch an occaſion. I wave that part therefore that reſpects health and conſtitution, and ſtick to thoſe juſt arguments which Nature dictates from the ladyes' own mouths, particularly that of mixtures of blood.

That the milk in a woman's breaſts is a moſt noble fluid, of the fineſt digeſture, ſtrain'd thro' its proper veſſells by the admirable operation of nature ; that it is nothing but the beſt concock'd aliment, and conſtituted in the ſame manner from the ſame principles as the blood it ſelf, and ſo is a part of the blood. Its difference of colour is nothing, ſeeing we ſee the limbecks of nature in the ſtomach and other veſſells gives colour and takes away colour in all the digeſting operations, and when in the milk dyet we drink nothing but white, the blood is neverthelefs of the ſame crimſon, and ſo of the reſt. And not to enter into anatomicall deſcripcions, which to the ladyes may on many accounts be indecent, it may be granted that, as the milk is in a true ſence the blood of the nurſe, ſo when taken in, it is mixt with the blood of, the child much more effectually than any other of the mixtures of generation, *f.* 28.

and this deſerves their reflection who are ſo chary about mixing the blood of familyes, as they call it, by matching with inferiors.

In a word, 'tis evedent they very little conſider, or very little underſtand, what they talk of, when they ſet ſuch a value upon the preſerving the race, as they call it, and taking care that their poſterity ſhouid have none but the blood of a gentleman in the family; when, to gratifye their own pride or pleaſures, they expoſe the heir to drink in the blood of a ſlave or a drudge, the blood of a clown and a boor, the worſt of mechanicks; ſcorn to marry 'em among citizens and tradſ-men however perſonally accompliſh'd, however furniſh't with beauty, wit, modeſty, breeding, and fortune, but let them ſuck in the life blood of a dary wench or a wooll comber, nay of a cook maid of the family marry'd perhaps to a carter or other ſlave, people but a few degrees abov beggars: if the woman looks but wholeſome and has a good full breaſt, a pair of dugs like a cow and a tollerable ſkin, 'tis all well; ſhe's deem'd wholeſome, and all other ſcruples give way to the lady's nicety.

Nor do theſe ladyes trouble themſelves to enquire into the temper of the woman, little knowing perhaps, and leſs conſidering, that her ſon ſhall drink in the paſſions, the temper, nay indeed the very ſoul of the woman whoſe milk he ſucks in, not to ſpeak of her bodily infirmitys, which after all their enquiry and ſearch may be lurking in her blood, hidden too far out of their reach to diſcern, nay, ſometimes are hereditary, and the poor woman her ſelf does not kno' them.

Here the young gentleman is ruin'd at once if the woman be a fiery, hot ſpirited, little paſſionate devil; for the poor have their difference of tempers as well as the rich, the dary woman as well as the dutches. What follows? The gentleman carryes it away in his blood, and he's a fury by blood, by the blood of his nurſe, as certainly as he is a gentleman by the blood of his father; and not to carry you too far into Nature's arcana and amuſe you with ſpeculations, 'tis certain, and phyſitians will tell you ſo and explain it, too, that a child's temper is more influenc'd by the milk he ſucks in than by all the other conveyances of nature. We draw life from our progenitors by the order of nature, and 'tis true, too, that we inherit infirmity too much that way; but we draw tempers and paſſions more from the milk we ſuck than from all the generating powers either in father or mother.

And this is a certain and unanſwerable evedence that the ſuckling a child is abſolutely making a mixture of the blood of the nurſe with the blood of the child: nay, the fineſt, the beſt of the animall ſpirits and juices are deriv'd and reciev their nouriſhment from this aliment, the milk; and that is the reaſon that the temper, the diſpoſitions, the paſſions, the affeccions, nay the crimes of the nurſe are often convey'd this way. I might ſwell this work to an unreaſonable bulk by giving you the ſeverall little hiſtorys of this kind, even within the reach of memory, but 'tis needleſs: Nature tells it. If the nurſe has been of a leud and looſe diſpoſition, the heir is ruin'd in his virtue, and[1] over-runs the country with his vices: if ſhe is drunken, he inherits her unquenchable apetite; if ſhe is a termagant, he is a bully; if a ſcold, he becomes talkativ and a rattle; if a lyar, he ſeldome proves a man of ſincerity; if ſhe's a hypocrite, he's very rarely a ſaint; and what is ſtill worſe, he draws in all theſe in a little and narrow mechanick degree, like the contracted ſoul he deriv'd them from.

If there is ſuch a thing as the blood of a gentleman that diſtinguiſhes men one from another; that a true greatneſs of ſoul, a broad heart, noble and generous principles, all flow in the veins from the pure fountain of an unmix'd race: what then are the ladyes doing *f.* 29. who decline aſſiſting nature when ſo well furniſh'd on the father's ſide? Why ſhould they not add to the noble ſtream from their own well deſcended fountain, that the father's blood and the mother's milk may joyn to compleat the true born gentleman? Whence is it that ſo many gentlemen deſcended from antient families, that can boaſt of a race of worthyes in their line, men of gallant principles, brave in the field, able in the council, here an eminent lawyer, there a judge, here a ſtateſ-man, there a generall, here a patriot, there a divine: and the degenerate heir of all this fame an empty, weak, rattling fop, or a raving, outrageous bully, a ſwearing, drunken, debauch't wretch, and, in a word, all that's weak and wicked?

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[1] Instead of *and*, the MS. has the abbreviation for *the*.

Either the boaſt of birth and blood is all a cheat, and there is nothing at all in it, nothing convey'd from the noble ſpring by the channells of nature, which I cannot grant neither, tho' I do not ſo much tye down vertue to race and deſcent as ſome would have us do; but I ſay, if there is any thing in the veins of a gentleman influenc'd from the blood of his anceſtors, then there muſt have been ſome accidentall interrupcion in the conveyance, ſome hetrogenious mixture, ſome baſe alloy in the birth or in the nutriment of the ſons of ſuch heroes in this age.

Whence elce does that degeneracy proceed? and how is it that we ſee the offſpring of the ſober, the grave, the learned, the good, anceſtor degenerated into rakes, cowards, bullies, and mad men? How comes the race of the ſtateſ-men and politicians, the brighteſt men of genius and politeſt parts to deviate and dwindle away into empty blockheads and worthleſs fools, fluttering fops or empty headed beaus, who have nothing valuable about them, reſerv nothing of their anceſtors but the name, to make us believ they are of the race? Where are the remains of the famous familyes of the *Veres*, the *Ceciles*, the *Ruſſels*, the *Whartons?* Into what are they tranſform'd, and except the fame of their great anceſtors, what have we left to boaſt of in them? Their forefathers were the glory of the Engliſh nacion, and what their poſterity may be we kno' not; but how low is the noble channel ebb'd out!

Sure, ſome of the preſent gentry we might name, never ſuck't in the milk of the race, never were brought up with the breaſt of thoſe that bare them, but Romulus like, if that ſtory be not a fibb, ſeem to have been ſuckl'd by the wolf or ſome other untam'd furious creature (beaſt). How elce is it poſſible, if birth and blood are concern'd in theſe things, and if any good quallityes deſcend in the line: I ſay, how is it poſſible ſuch ſons ſhould be any way akin to ſuch anceſtors?

What a promiſing line did the laſt age ſee riſing up for glory and great things from the antient blood of two familyes[1] in the north, known by their inheritances for ages beyond the reach of hiſtory, nam'd from the lands they were born to, or the lands nam'd from the well approv'd poſeſſors, not before the Conqueſt onely, but even before the Romans, if we may believ the moſt antient records! And where are the degenerated iſue? How ſunk even below ſatyr into pity and contempt, and that not by the chance and changes of fortune and the world, but by meer degeneracy of the race, into all that was fooliſh, wild, and wicked, and how are the antient patrimonys, the inheritances of ſo many ages ſold and ſelling, divided and parcell'd out, as fate and purchaſers preſent, paſſing into new poſſeſſors, and the name of familyes no more to be remembr'd by the names of the lands, except it be to lament the fall of their fortunes and write an exit upon their graves!

Did

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[1] MS. *family.*

f. 29 b. Did theſe men ſuck the milk of their mothers? or do they owe the degeneracy of their principles, the narrowneſs of their ſouls, their vitiated blood, and their naturall attachment to crime, to ſome vile coagulated nutriment drawn in with the milk of ſome tainted ſtrumpet unhappily recommended to the lady for a nurſe?

I cannot but think it worth the conſideration of the ladyes, if they have any regard to the familyes they are joyn'd to, and are at all concern'd with Solomon's wiſe woman, who builds up her houſe while the fooliſh woman pulls it down with her hands; I ſay, 'tis well worth their conſidering how they debauch the noble blood of a gentleman and corrupt their own race by mingling the blood of a ſlav and a ſcoundrel (as above) with the nouriſhment and life of their own progeny.

The ladyes had much better, if they find it inconvenient to ſuckle their own children, for ſome can not do it, I ſay, they had much better have them fed by the ſpoon, or, as 'tis call'd, brought up by hand; then they are ſure they have no corrupt, tainted particles mixt with their nouriſhment and convey'd from thence, and diſperſt thro' the veſſells appointed for the purpoſe, into the nobler parts, mingl'd by the animal ſecrecion with the vitals, and affecting not the temperament of the body onely, but the very paſſions of the ſoul.

I have nothing to do here with the reaſons given by the ladyes why they do not, or can not, or care not, to ſuckle their own children. This work is not deſign'd for a ſatyr upon the ſex, what ever room there is for it. But here is an alternativ offred, which they can never come off if Queen Ann's ſaying may be a maxim for them. The ſon of a king ſhould ſuck none but a queen, the ſon of a gentleman ſhould ſuck none but a lady; and if they will not come in to that part, then the alternativ I propoſe is in two parts thus:

(1.) Let them bring up their ſons by hand, as abov.

Let them take drye nurſes into the houſe to tend and feed and bring up the young offſpring, and let them be nouriſh'd by the ſpoon, as it is very eaſie to do, and experience proves it to be ſufficient, and conſequently is the next beſt to the mother's breaſt; or

(2.) If they will put them out to nurſes, let them lay down the ſcruple about diſhonouring their familyes and mixing the blood of a gentleman with a mechanick; for if they value not the mixture in the child, there's no room to ſcruple it in the man; for he may call himſelf a gentleman as much as he will: while he has the blood of a paiſant in his veins, 'tis all a cheat; he is but a mongrell[1] breed begat by a gentleman, ſuckl'd by a mechanick, a ſcrub, a what you pleaſe; for 'tis juſt what they pick up among the poor.

And turn this a little upon the ſex, too, another way: the ladies are ſuppoſ'd to be as nice this way as the gentlemen, and in ſome caſes they are nicer too; they ſcorn to diſhonour their family and to marry below themſelves, and eſpecially not to marry a tradeſman, who they call a mechanick, let his employment be what it will.

But if they will be ſure to marry a gentleman, they ought to enquire where he was nurſ't, and whoſe milk he ſuck't; for ſuppoſe his father was a gentleman, if he ſuck't a ſow he will be of the hog kind as certainly as if he was one of the litter.

It will be an eternal ſatyr upon the pride of our *f.* 30. gentry that at the ſame time that they boaſt of their blood, their antient deſcent, and that they abhorr diſhonring their blood to match with the cannaille as they call it, yet at the ſame time they will let their children be nurſ't by the meaneſt of the labouring poor, and ſuck in the blood of the wretched and the miſerable.

The inconſiſtency is not to be reconcil'd to their ſences; if the blood is once mix'd, 'tis mix'd for ever, and eſpecially if mix'd in the childhood; in the early nouriſhment it is diſperſt into every branch of the man; the contaminacion is grown up with him, and, as above, it is more effectually mix't ſo than in the birth it ſelf. To ſay a man has good blood in his veins, noble blood, and antient blood, and inherits generous principles from his anceſtors, that he is a gentleman by blood, and ſuch,[1] as is the common jargon of the times, and yet own he was ſuckl'd by a ſhe-bear upon a mountain, as Jov they ſay was nurſt upon the top of Mount Ida in the Iſle of Crete or Candia: we muſt firſt call the poor milk woman that nurſt him a gentlewoman, you muſt dub the gardner's wife or the coachman's wife, or the farmer's wife a lady, and call her a perſon of a good family, and then indeed it may be made out; but elce I would recommend it to our gentry to throw open the fence, take down the pale, and ſeperate no more from the mobb, for they are but all of a breed, or at leaſt all of a blood, and the good honeſt tradeſman, whoſe virtuous, diligente wife takes due care of her family, and ſuckles and inſtructs her own children, and takes a perſonall care of their learning afterwards, preſerves the breed and brings up better gentlemen than the beſt lady in the land (as I ſhall ſhow at large in its place) that puts out her children among ſlaves and beggars.

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[1] MS. *mongell.*

Nor will all the fine things that are or can be done for the young eſquire or the young baronet afterwards, attone for this capitall miſtake in the firſt part of their bringing up; for, as the phyſitians ſay, an error in the firſt concoction is not rectifyed in the ſecond. The degeneracy of the blood is found in the very firſt progreſſion, the child ſucks in the poiſon, if it be ſuch, with allmoſt its firſt breath, and the mechanick is blended with the gentleman in its firſt aliment; and as they take root together, they grow up together. A plant or flower taken out of a rich ſoil and remov'd into a poor ſoil, will be weak and degenerate and run ſingle, influenced and ſtinted by the poverty of the ſecond ſoil, partaking little of that which it was raiſ'd in ; ſo take a plant raiſ'd in a poor or barren ground, and tranſplant it into a better and richer ſoil, it flouriſhes, ſhoots up, doubles and ſpreads to a wonder, influenc'd and nouriſht by the ſtrength of the ground without regarding the barren cold ſoil it came out of.

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[1] MS. *ſuch ſtuff*, but *ſtuff* is struck out.

'Tis the ſame thing with the child. Take it from the mother, a gay, vigrous, ſprightly, beautifull young lady, and put it to ſuck to a weak, decaying, or diſtemper'd woman ; for thoſe things call'd conſumtiv malladyes are not always diſernable in young marryed women ; and what's the conſequence of this ? The child, however healthy, however prepar'd by Nature and the firſt ſoil for a ſtrong, noble conſtitution, tranſplanted to the meaner poor nouriſhment of the weak ſoil, takes root in proporcion to the nouriſhment it recieves, and becomes languid and conſumtiv in the meer conſequence of the diſtemper'd creature of whoſe blood it partakes.

It is the ſame thing in the caſe of the quallity of the perſon, if the woman is a mechanick, ſuppoſe a *f.* 31. farmer's wife or a plowman's wife, for ſuch we are fond of, forſooth, becauſe they are what they call wholeſome and ſound. But what's that to the point in debate ? She's not a gentlewoman, but a ſorry, poor, unbred wretch, the blood of a cobler or a tinker, no matter what, a branch of the noble mobbe of the true levell with the ſtreet, the meaneſt of the rabble.

This woman muſt give nouriſhment to the gentleman. This gentleman when grown up muſt ſcorn[1] to debaſe this woman's blood forſooth, which being mingl'd with his own is become noble and generous, and what not.

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[1] MS. *ſcon.*

They have but one plea to ſoften this and remov the ſcandal; and 'tis a very poor one, and will confound all the reſt of the argument; and this is that they tell us the blood of the poor mechanick woman receives a new tincture, and is enobl'd and made generous by the blood of the gentleman which it is mix'd with; that, as the tide from the ſea flowing up a fine freſh water river, tho' at firſt puſh'd on by the wind or by the hight of the ſea, it ruſhes in with violence and carrys its ſalt and brackiſh waters a good way, tainting the purer ſtreams of the river for a while, yet it is at laſt conquer'd, its waters ſweetn'd and made freſh, the ſalin particles being repulſ'd and driven back by the freſh ſtream that comes down upon it: ſo the baſe blood of the mean woman, tho' it may mix at firſt its courſer alloy with the more pure and refin'd principle of life in the veins of the child, yet that it weares out with time, the vigour of his ſpirits overcomes it, and in a few yeares the child is reſtor'd to its firſt conſtitucion, and is all gentle[1] again, as compleatly as he was the firſt hour he was born.

This is a fine ſpeculation indeed, but has no foundacion either in the fact or philoſophy; and the reaſon and nature of the thing is againſt it: for, firſt, 'tis beging the queſtion in the moſt egregious manner poſſible; the fact is not capable of evedence, much leſs of demonſtration by any means whatſoever; on the contrary, it is not ſo much as probable; for, as I ſaid before, the mixture being made in the beginning of the child's progreſſion, the conſtitution is form'd upon that mixture, as the root and the natures grow up together; nay, as in a graft the ſcyon and the ſtock grow together, and the ſcyon being fixt upon the ſtock, tho' the ſtock is the firſt in nature, the fruit is allways after the ſcyon which is grafted in, ſo here, tho'

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[1] MS. *G.*

tho' the gentleman is in the ſtock, yet, the mixture being in the blood, the engraftment takes place, and the fruit pertakes of both, but is denominated from the laſt.

But there is a miſſfortune in nature, too, which attends us all and which is ſtronger againſt this plea than all the reſt, (viz.) that the evill part allwayes makes deeper impreſſion than the good, and if the mixture of blood has any thing in it, the bad is rather moſt likely to prevail.

All this while I do not grant that there is really any degeneracy of blood in either the marriage or the ſuckling, except in caſe of diſtemper; and then I am ſure, and inſiſt upon it, that the danger is chiefly in the ſuckling part; but I take the argument as the gentlemen and as the ladyes lay it down for us, and as they pretend it ſhould be taken, whether it is ſo in fact or no, viz., that the blood of a gentleman is a mighty article in the family, and that to marry with a mechanick is a corrupcion of the blood, which diſhonours the line and cauſes a degeneracy in the race; that the next generacion or the iſſue of the marriage is not truly gentle[1] or truly noble, but a mixt breed, half gentle,[1] half ſcoundrel, like the mule among the horſes, and ought not to rank with the gentry; as in the Old Inſtitution, when God reſolv'd to keep his people pure and unmix'd in blood, he forbid the children[2] of Moab or of Ammon the entring or being recieved into the congregation to the third generation.

Thus it is apparent there is a mixture; and to ſay the *f.* 31 *b.* mixture is worn out by time is ſaying what can not be prov'd; and beſides the affirmativ being unprov'd, I ſay the rational part is againſt it, becauſe the plant took its root in the time of the firſt mixture, and every grain, every ounce of fliſh that is grown up ſince, is grown up from the ſame mixt nutriment, which the root muſt yield: and no root can giv any nutriment but what it ſelf contains, ſo that once mixt and ever mixt, once corrupted and ever corupted; and there is no man in Nature can be call'd a gentleman born, in the true acceptacion of the word, as thoſe people would have it be taken, but ſuch as never ſuckt in the milk of a mechanick.

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[1] MS. *G.*

[2] Abbreviation.

That this is abſolutely and litterally true I believ will be granted; if not, I would be very glad to ſee upon what ſolid foundacion it can be contradicted; how to remedye it, I mean for the future, for what is paſſt can not be cur'd, but how for the future it may be remedyed, is for the ladyes to conſider of.

In the mean time, were it puſh'd home at our gentlemen, who value themſelves ſo much upon their blood, the line of the families, and at the unmarry'd ladyes, who rate themſelves above the higheſt fortunes, who want the advantage of birth: I ſay, were it puſh'd home at either ſex, they would be oblig'd to procure as good proof of who nurſt them as who bore them, whoſe milk they ſuck'd, as whoſe race they came of, and to prove the quallity, the blood, the high birth, of the lady nurſe, the poor woman that ſuckl'd them, as of the father that begot them.

I think I need ſay no more to the ladyes upon this ſubject. But I can not quit it, till I have put the gentlemen a little upon the tenters about it, too; for they are the principal parties concern'd.

That the gentlemen of England are at this time under a wretched ſcandal is moſt certain; and the reproach lyes indeed not onely, or not ſo much, upon their moralls as upon their underſtandings; even their genius and capaſcities are queſtioned. They are not ſo much told of their want of being learned, for that may be their inſtructor's fault, but of their being uncapable of learning, of a rugged, untractable, undocible diſpoſition, when young, dull and impenetrable and not to be taught. Now this is to my purpoſe, for it allmoſt naturally puts us upon enquiring into the reallity of the extraccion; not whether they are really true born, and are the ſons of gentlemen; that would be rude to the ladyes, their mothers; but whether the blood of a gentleman has not been degenerated in their veins by vile mixtures ſince their birth; and how can that be but in the manner I have alleag'd, viz., by drinking in the groſs, heavy, ſour particles of the plebeian blood in their firſt alyment, nouriſhing the plant with courſe, inflam'd, or corrupted juices, by which the very kind may be altred, the ſprightly, aery, refin'd animal ſpirits, which naturally flow'd in the infant veins be loaded and oppreſt with thick, crude, clumſey, and heavy particles, which change the very motion as well as the conſtitution of the child, and make him a blockhead by the meer conſequence of Nature.

It would be a happy diſcovery, could we come to be clear in the point, and would go a great way to convince me that the notion we have of a gentleman being ſtrictly oblig'd to preſerv the dignity of his birth and blood has ſomething of reallity in it, even in the higheſt and ſtricteſt ſence; if it could be made appear that all the unmixt race, the pure true born familyes of gentlemen among us, who had preſerv'd the blood entire, were men of honour, of ſence, of learning and virtue, and that all the degenerate, vitious, debaucht lines, and all the empty, untaught, ignorant, good-for-nothing gentlemen were ſuch whoſe blood was at firſt tainted with the impure mixtures of the rabble by ſucking in the milk of thoſe ſcoundrell, mean, deſpicable things, call'd nurſes.

It would be an unanſwerable plea for all the diſtincion and difference not onely that we do, but that we could, make, and it would be the care of all the good families in England to take the bringing up of their ſons into their own hands, to prevent their going to the D—— in the meer conſequence of their being nurſ'd abroad.

On the other hand, all the generous minds, the vigorous ſpirits, the bright exalted ſouls, all the men of genius and wit, of bravery and of great thoughts, that have drunk in learning, as a fiſh drinks water, and have treaſur'd up knowleg and princeples of virtue, as miſers do gold; who are born ſhining and have improv'd a polite genius by a polite education: theſe to the honour of their anceſtors would carry their teſtimonials in their very faces, that they were their genuine poſterity, true gentlemen of unmix'd race, of an untainted blood, heroic ſons of hero anceſtors, and that, what ever their fathers excell'd in that was good and comendable, they were prepar'd to imitate and would ſtriv to exell.

But this is not to[1] be expected; and as it is not ſo, it leaves us prepar'd to enquire from what purer ſpring this glorious ſtream call'd the blood of a gentleman derives, and I doubt not but by a due ſearch we ſhall ſoon find it out; but of that by itſelf.

In the mean time, as the phyſitian muſt firſt ſearch into the diſeas before he can preſcribe the remedy, ſo we muſt go a little farther in laying open this wound and making due enquiry into the fact; we ſhall elce be told I have dreſſ't up a man of ſtraw to fight with, have form'd an imaginary figure to talk of, for the ſake of the ſatyr, expoſ'd a thing of nothing that is not to be found; and, in a word, the fact is not true any more than the reaſon of it is rational.

I muſt therefore, as above, eſtabliſh the premiſes, or I can never expect to ſupport the concluſion. The charge lyes, in a few words, thus:—

1. That our Engliſh gentlemen, generally ſpeaking,

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[1] *to* omitted in MS.

are not men of learning, men of heads, of genius and wit, whether naturall or acquir'd.

2. That the great defect lyes not in their families or in their blood, not in their intellect or capaſcities, but in the error of their educacion.

3. That, tho' wit and genius are the gifts of nature, *f.* 33. yet that for want of a liberal educacion even thoſe ſhining parts may ſuffer a total eclypſe.

4. That a love of pleaſure being ſubſtituted early in the minds of children born to fortunes and eſtates extinguiſhes the love of learning, which might otherwiſe by early inſtruccion have been kindled in the mind.

5. That an early lov of pleaſure is an invincible obſtacle to a love of vertue as well as to a love of learning; and that as one makes them ſimple, ſo the other makes 'em wicked.

6. That folly as well as learning may be acquir'd, and men become fools by the help of educacion juſt as others learn to be wiſe.

7. That taking tutors to teach young gentlemen is not onely the ruine of their heads, but of their moralls alſo; and that as tutors are generally mannag'd or rather mannage themſelves, they are rather playfellows to the children than inſtructors.

8. That tutors, as the youth grow up, rather prompt their pleaſures than their learning, and that they muſt do ſo or loſe their places.

9. That all the miſcheifs of a young gentleman's education are occaſion'd by a neglect of the moſt early inſtruccions: The principles of vertue, religion, and ſubjeccion to government are to be planted in the minds of children from the very firſt moments that they can be made capable of recieving them, that they may be ſure to have the firſt poſeſſion of their minds, and may have ſome time to take root, before the taſt

of pleaſures and a looſe to levity and folly can have acceſs to ſupplant them.

Upon the foot of theſe principles both the grievance will be explain'd, the cauſes of it found out, the ſcandal of it expoſ'd, and the remedy for it be applyed.

The[1] gentlemen of England will have no room to be offended at this work; it is neither written to expoſe them or inſult them, much leſs to wrong and abuſe them. Either the thing is true, or it is not. If it is not, I ſhould indeed be greatly injurious, and ſhould merit the reſentment not of the gentlemen onely, but of all mankind, as having raiſ'd a reproach upon my nativ country, and miſſrepreſented the higheſt rank of the beſt men in it, wrote a ſatyr upon virtue, and made a complaint without a crime: in a word, I ſhould be call'd a falſe accuſer, and ſhould merit the name, tho' it be one of the titles ſingular to the D——.

But I am not affraid of the cenſure, nor do I believ the gentlemen of England will be in the leaſt diſpleaſ'd with either the deſign, or with the method. As to the caſe being true in fact, I am content to appeal to the gentlemen themſelves; they are too much gentlemen to withſtand it; and if the fact is true, the ſatyr is juſt; and the remedyes propoſ'd I am ſure are kind, ſo that I have truth, juſtice, and kindneſs in every part of the work.

Nor is there any occaſion for me to make an excepcion for the great number of bright, accompliſh't, polite gentlemen that are among us; who are the glory
f. 33 *b.* of their country, and indeed keep up the very name of gentlemen among us; who are at this time the ornaments

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[1] Here the MS. has the note, *Here a new Cap.*

ments of their country for learning, wit, ſcience, and virtue, patterns of good breeding and of good manners.

Thoſe gentlemen do not want to be told that they are excepted here; they except themſelves, as they diſtinguiſh themſelves by their conduct, and as at this time they are diſtinguiſht by all the world for the moſt accompliſht people in the Univerſe.

This ſtill returns with an irreſiſtible force of argument upon the reſt, upon the untaught, unpoliſhed, unimprov'd part which remain, and who being the maſs or bulk of the gentry have the miſſfortune to be left behind, groveling in the dirt of ignorance, and learning no thing but to glut themſelves in plenty, wallowing in wealth and in the groſſeſt part of what they call pleaſures, not capable of enjoying the ſublime and exalted delight of an improv'd ſoul; I ſay not capable, that is, they have no taſt of them, becauſe they do not underſtand them, no guſt to books to read the accions of great men or to tread in the ſteps of glory and vertue.

The improv'd part of mankind have nothing left but to pity thoſe unhappy gentlemen, who ſit content and felicitate them ſelves in that which is the worſt of miſery, ignorance; and who, could they look without themſelves a little, would be ſurpriſ'd to think how unnaturally they were treated by their anceſtors, who gave them money without riches, eſtates without treaſure, and titles without heads, and who have no happyneſs left 'em with all their fortunes but the meer ſtupidity of being eaſie in the loſs, willing to be fools, and, as we may ſay, not deſiring to be otherwiſe, becauſe they kno'[1] no better.

The world recognizes the wiſer part of our gentry, they who by the felicity of their educacion have been early introduc'd into a lov of vertue, learning, and all gentlemanly improvement. How is our nation at this time made illuſtrious thro' all Europe for ſome of the greateſt men that ever the world produced, exquiſite in ſcience, compleat in the politeſt learning, bright in witts, wiſe in the Cabinet, brave in the field; no ſcience, no comendable ſtudy, no experimentall knowlege, no humane attainment, but they excell in and in ſome go beyond all man kind, and are, I ſay, the glory not of England onely, but of the world!

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[1] *kno'.* is omitted in MS.

I ſhould be ignorant, as the men I talk of, if I ſhould think theſe gentlemen ought to have been mencioned by way of exception; there's no need of it. Theſe are the paterns for the other to be ſham'd by; theſe are the ſtandards that young gentlemen ſhould be form'd[1] by and who they ſhould ſtriv to imitate.

Theſe are the proofs given to the abuſ'd gentlemen I ſpeak of, to prove that they might have[2] been like 'em, if it had not been for the fondneſs of mothers, the ignorance of fathers, the negligence of nurſes, and the treachery of tutors. Theſe are the glorious examples which ſhould, barring religious prohibicions, ſhould make our gentlemen curſe their no-educacion, reproach their unkind anceſtors, and hang themſelves, to be out of the ſcandal of it.

Their onely proteccion is their ſtupidity, as I have ſaid above. They neither look in, or look out, or look up; if they look'd in, they would ſee what empty, what weak, what unform'd things they are; if they look'd out, that is, look'd round them, they would ſee how bright, how beautifull learning rendred other men, *f.* 34. and what they might have been, if they had had juſtice done them in their educacion; as to the laſt, their looking up, they that cannot look *in* can ſeldome look[3] *up*: They that can not contemplate themſelves can very ill contemplate their Maker; and as for looking round them, this they do indeed in there own confin'd manner; they look into their parks and gardens, their lands and revenues, and ſee with joy the fund they have, to carry on their life of pleaſure and ſloth; but they ſeldome or indeed never[1] can look round them enough to ſee how near a life they liv to that of a brute, in how different a manner ſuch and ſuch gentlemen live, how much more ſuitable to the life of a gentleman, as he is a man and a rational creature as well as a Chriſtian, and that perhaps with a ſmaller eſtate; nay, which is ſtill worſe, they do not looke upon the man of ſence and wit, the man of learning and of parts, to imitate him, but to deſpiſe and contemn him, becauſe forſooth he is no gentleman, and in this ſence they may be properly ſaid not to look round them at all.

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[1] MS. *form.* [2] MS. *ha*, as often. [3] MS. *look look.*

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[1] *never* not in MS.

CAP. III.

Of the generall ignorance of the Engliſh gentry and the true cauſes of it in the manner of their introduccion into life.[1]

AFTER what has been ſaid of the weakneſs and, what is worſe, the ignorance that ſpreads, at this time, among our gentry, 'tis time to examine the fact and enquire into the truth of things; for it would be a terrible reproach upon this work, and would take off the edge and force of all the wholeſam truths that are ſtill behind, if, when all theſe refleccions are made, the thing ſhould not be ſo.

But I am far from being affraid of ſuch a charge. I have too many vouchers at hand, too many witneſſes to produce. What town, what county in England can we come into where theſe unfledg'd animals are not to be ſeen?

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[1] After the heading are the following lines, which are, however, accompanied by the remark, *This for another place*, and by a *deleatur*:—

What deep concerne the anxious mothers *ſhow*,
For fear the generous heir *ſhould learn to kno'*,
Indulg'd in eaſe, in ignorance, and pride,
And many a ſorry, ſilly thing *beſide*,
Brought up to nothing *at a vaſt expenſe*,
And while they feed *his honour* ſtarv *his ſence:*
Thus for the park and manſion *he's made fit*,
And bred a fool in ſpite of mother-wit.

Ecce Platonis homo!

Who bear the figure of the man are not to be diſtinguiſh't by their perſons, their ſhapes or faces, except that ſome times they are apt to go with their mouth open, an[1] unhappy ſignature placed by ſilent Nature to direct our gueſs, whence we have an old ſignificant proverb *a gaping fool*, of which again in his order; for I am not now upon the variety of the ſorts of fools but their number, and indeed 'tis a little frightfull to engage, when a man is allmoſt ſorrounded before the battle. But courage! it muſt be done, we muſt fight *f.* 35. our way thro'; the danger may indeed be ſomething, but the difficulty is nothing.

It was a ſaying father'd upon King Charles II., tho' it was a little too harſh for him, who had a world of witt and not one grain of ill nature, that *if there were not both fools and knaves return'd*, (I ſuppoſe there might be an election in hand at the time) *the nation could not be truly repreſented.*

As to the knavery among our gentlemen in England, I will not flatter them there may be ſome long heads among them too; but I'll do them the juſtice at the ſame time as to ſay I believ the ſhort heads have infinitely the majority, eſpecially among the elder brothers.

I have heard of holding eſtates in England by antient tenures, old antiquated cuſtomes, and ſervices; ſome are held by the ſword, ſuch as ſervice in the field, knight's ſervice, and eſquire: but I never found a mannor held in England by the weight of the brain. We are told that in ſome of the iſlands of the Archipelague they had ſome very odd cuſtomes, as at Zia or Zea, that if any man preſum'd to cumber[2] the place abov 80 year he ſhould be voted an invader of his heirs, and they ſhould bury him, whether he was pleaſed to dye or no, becauſe, as there was but juſt proviſions enough in the iſland for the ordinary inhabitants, it was unreaſonable that they ſhould devour it who were of no manner of uſe to the public.

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[1] MS. *an an.*

[2] MS. *cuumber*, corrected from another word.

In another iſland . . . . . , nameleſs for divers good reaſons, they tell us it was a cuſtome that, when any man of fortune dyed, his eſtates were to be divided among his children not according to the primogeniture, but according to the quallity or degree of their learning and underſtanding, of which the Senate of the country were judges, and they had infallible rules to determine it by. Some hold lands indeed by ſtrength of hand, and ſome by ſtrength of face ; but 'tis the knaves onely that hold by ſtrength of wit. I doubt indeed 'twould be a mellancholly article among us heirs, if want of brains ſhould be made a want of title to our eſtates, and men were to ſhare the land in proporcion to their underſtanding.

But as things now ſtand, it ſeems to be the reverſe in our country, eſpecially if, as a certain author pretends, Nature has made the diviſion with equity and upon weighty conſideracions.

Elder and younger ſhare the goods of fate,
This all the brains inherits, that th' eſtate.

Happy Conſtitution ! glorious England ! where the inheritance deſcends in tayl, and the head has no ſhare in the claim ; where fools enjoy their juſt privileges and an eldeſt ſon enjoys the land by birthright, be the heir a baronette, the juſtice of peace, the member of . . . . . , ay, and any thing elce that Nature has furniſh't him with a title to, or with money to purchaſe. Nor can his want of ſence be pleaded in bar of his ſucceſſion, provided he is but one degree above being beg'd, etc.

As fools, then, are not out of rank, ſo neither are they out of faſhion, and there is ſome convenience in that, too, eſpecially where the number is ſo conſiderable; for now a man, let his head be as weak as you will, may come into company, ſit upon the bench and at the board, take a commiſſion, be choſen mayor, alderman, common council man, as well as ſeverall other repreſenting advances, and not be oblig'd to bluſh and hold his tongue.

Nay, if nature has been deficient in other caſes, and his tongue ſhould be a little too big for his mouth, ſo that he ſhould be addicted to ſpeech-making ſome times, and that in public, too, he may yet come off tollerably well, becauſe the men of more wit have generally good nature enough to bear it and ſay nothing, and 'tis ten to one but the majority may underſtand it as little as himſelf.

There are, doubtleſs, ſome advantages to the empty gentlemen from their numbers, and theyr being ſo much in faſhion is none of the leaſt of them. How often when they tell noſes do the fools out-poll their neighbours! how often fall in with partyes and run down all by their numbers! Thoſe are the gentlemen who in former dayes were call'd the DEAD WEIGHT in a certain Houſe. The reaſon was plain when the party kings[1] were equally divided. Who ever got the f . . . . s on their ſide were ſure to carry the queſtion; and this made the miniſtry in thoſe days (for I ſpeak now of things 40 year ago) get a roll of theſe folks under pay, and thence we deriv'd the name and perhaps the uſe, too, of a Penſion Parliament.[2] But thoſe things are out of doores now; and tho' the fools, I doubt, are not leſſen'd in number now, yet they may be honeſter, perhaps, than they were then, or, what is ſtill better, theſe are honeſter *f.* 36. times; and tho' bribery may be out of faſhion tho' the

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[1] *Party ·K* in MS.

[2] *P* in MS.

f . . . . s[1] are not: Heavens grant that may be the true ſtate of the caſe. AMEN.

But to come back to the thing in diſpute as it lyes before us, the propoſicion is plain *that our Engliſh gentlemen are not men of learning*. I had ſome thoughts of entring upon the proof of it, but I am happily prevented by the generallity[2] of the thing, and the honeſty of the partys; for really the gentlemen confeſs it themſelves. Some indeed are aſham'd, and would fain conceal it; but they are the ſmalleſt number. Some again ingenuouſly own it, and tell you honeſtly they don't pretend to learning; they were not bred to books they ſay, and have no notion of them: ſo they don't mind them. They liv as they are, that is to ſay, not like men of learning, but like gentlemen. They enjoy their eſtates and their pleaſures, and envy nobody. If they had been well taught, they ſhould have been glad of it now; and 'twas none of their fault; but that's paſt and it can't be help'd; they muſt be content, they have a good eſtate and no great need of it; and ſo 'tis well enough.

Thoſe are indeed the beſt of the race, and are a teſtimony that the ignorance of the gentlemen lyes indeed in their education, not in naturall defficiencys; and that they are fools, not for want of capaſcity of being taught, but for want of teaching.

But we have another ſort or two to ſpeak of, and they indeed are among the incorrigibles of nature. Nothing is to be done with them. Theſe are *either*

(1) thoſe that in ſpite of ignorance and unſufferable dullneſs are opinion wiſe. It would take up a little volume to giv a full deſcripcion of this kind; it muſt be confeſſt they ſeem to be a ſpecies by themſelves; that their intellectualls are form'd in a differing

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[1] *F* in MS.

[2] Or it might be *generallityes*.

mould from the reſt of mankind. They ſpeak and act upon a ſeperate foot, and walk in a ſeperate track; they neither do well or ſay well, and yet will have it that all they either do or ſay is beſt; they are a modern ſort of Iſhmaelites, for they laugh at all the world and all the world laughs at them; they think all the world fools to them, and all the world thinks them fools of the groſſeſt kind. As to their knowlege, whether natural or acquir'd, 'tis in their own opinion ſo every way compleat, and their heads ſo well furniſh'd, that they cannot believ a word of their want of better inſtruccion, but think they kno' every thing and kno' it, too, better than their neighbours. Nor are they ever ſatiſfied,[1] if you don't chime in with them and acknowlege all they ſay; and to compleat their impertinence they are noiſy with their nonſence, maintain the groſſeſt abſurdityes, oppoſe the plaineſt evedence, diſpute principles, and argue even againſt demonſtracion. Generally ſpeaking, they carry a ſtock of ill nature about them and a want of temper, if not a want of good manners. Nothing pleaſes them; they contradict every body, rail at every body, giv characters of every body, and, in a word, tyre every body. Nothing is more frequent with them then to paſs their judgement upon the learning as well as wit of others, tho' they have ſo very little of their own; nay, tho' they read no books, but perhaps the *title page* and the *finis* of ſome few, yet borrowing ſcraps from other men they paſs their cenſure in the groſs, and damn the worke, as we ſay, unſight unſeen. Indeed, as they paſs their cenſure in the groſs, ſo, if you will pardon me a pun, 'tis generally a groſs cenſure, ignorant, weak, courſe, and perhaps rude, too; for ſuch men very ſeldom abound in manners. Or, (2) we have another ſort, and theſe come home to you with argument. They don't (like the other people) deny the charge and believ themſelves to be men of learning, reading, and travell, and the like, and put their nonſence upon you for wit; but, on the contrary, they own the fact, but denye the deficiency: they grant they have no learning, but they ſay it ought to be ſo; they ought to be bred up juſt as they were; that 'tis a miſtake; 'tis not ignorance in them not to underſtand languages any more than 'tis that they can't make a watch or a clock or a pair of ſhoes; that ſchollars and men of books are handicrafts and mecchannicks made to work for gentlemen, as joyners and carpenters are, and books are to them nothing but their tools, their compaſſes and hammers, their planes and augurs to exerciſe their art with; that theſe things are below a gentleman; that he has no buſſineſs with them: that if any man aſkt his ſon what ſchool he went to, what books he was in, and how he went on in his ſtudyes, he ſhall anſwer: "School, Sir? I don't go to ſchool. *f.* 37. My father ſcorns to put me to ſchool. Sure I an't to be a trades-man; I am to be a gentleman: I an't to go to ſchool."

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[1] Abbreviation.

Then he runs on with a common place of rallery againſt learning and learned men after the manner of the elder brother mencion'd before; how uſeleſs and how ridiculous it is to trouble a gentleman with ſcience and books; that Nature had form'd them for other things; that they were born for enjoyment, ſingl'd out to form a degree of men above the ordinary rank; that learning and improvements were for the inferior world, to recomend them to employment and buſſineſs that they might get their bread; that gentlemen were above all theſe things and above the people that were maſters of them; that men of books are the drudges and ſervants of the gentry, and when ever they had occaſion for them, they could have them for their money, as princes entertain interpreters and therefore never learn languages themſelves; that thoſe were made to ſerv for wages, and the gentlemen[1] are thoſe that hire them and pay them; that 'tis ridiculous to put the gentlemen upon reading and learning languages; they have other employment and are born to better things. Beſides, they tell you it would be injurious to the Common Wealth and take the bread out of the mouths of the younger brothers; that learning and languages were manufactures[2] and employ'd the poor (ſchollars), and it would be very hard to take the employment from them which they get their bread by; that ſchollars like fiddlers are to be hir'd to make muſic to the gentry; that theſe are to pipe, and the other are to dance, becauſe they pay the piper; that gentlemen are no more to trouble them ſelves with books than with the bag pipes; that would be to ſtarv the poor ſchollars and bring them as a charge upon the pariſh.

Thoſe two claſſes of gentlemen are, indeed, the exalted heroes of ignorance and ſloth, who this diſcours is chiefly pointed at; and thoſe are the gentlemen I mean alſo when I ſay their number is ſo great that, if they came to tell noſes, they would out-pol their neighbours. I confeſs the laſt out-do the former, too, becauſe they have a kind of a harden'd eloquence in their way of talking, which confirms them in their folly the more they talk of it, and ſhows that, like men bred up in any particular error or opinion of religion, who afterwards maturely cleav to thoſe errors, they are not onely hereticks by the prejudice of educacion, but have formally recogniz'd that educacion by a mature, deliberate profeſſion, making that which was before their neceſſity[3] be their choice.

This way of talking in the matter of education, like atheiſms in religion, is not to be ſupported without a vaſt ſtock of aſſurance; I had almoſt given it a harder word, but that, as I am talking of gentlemen, I would treat them as ſuch. This is certain, it can not be carry'd on without ſome face, as men talk firſt atheiſtically, then, working up their paſſions to a hight, run it on to down-right blaſphemy. I do not doubt but that ſometimes they are ſencible of, and feel with regrett, the defficiency of their own educacion; but learning gradually to be contented with it, and to accept of the eaſe and pleaſure of their fortunes as diverſions inſtead of it, come at laſt to approv as by choice what they are plung'd into by neceſſity, having learn'd by habit and by length of time to applaud what was the crime and neglect of their parents, as a wiſe part acted in their introduccion into the world; inſiſting upon it as what was beſt for them; decrying all improvements and blaſpheming ſcience as atheiſts do religion; declaring themſelves ignorant by meer open ſuffrage and conſent; deſpiſing knowlege like Solomon's fool, of whom among many other charecters to kno' him by I think this is the moſt pointed and elegant, as well as conciſe, that *they hate knowlege*, by which I can not doubt but that the wiſe man meant that *none but fools* do ſo.

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[1] MS. *G.* [2] *·M* with a stroke over it. [3] Abbreviation.

I can not repreſent the unhappyneſs of theſe uneducated gentlemen more to their diſſadvantage than in the conſequence we ſee it has in their own families, among their ſervants and tennants, and even among their children.

I had occaſion but a very few yeares ago to be prety much in the family of a gentleman who I had long had an intimacy with; he was himſelf a man that knew the world, had been bred much abroad in Germany, France, and Italy, and had a great ſtock of converſacion-knowlege, tho' no learning. He was of the firſt rank, as I may call it, for eſtate and antient blood, and, tho' not enobl'd, might claim an undiſputed title to that of gentleman. He had but one ſon, the heir and hopes of his family; and his being the onely ſon was one of his reaſons, why he would not part with him abroad when he came to grow up; but his other reaſon, which he kept much to himſelf, and which was the true reaſon, indeed, was that he thought his ſon by his mother's tenderneſs had been bred too ſoft and eaſie, too much ſwallow'd up in his pleaſures, ſo that he was not to be ſo much truſted with himſelf, and that, as he ſaid afterwards, he was ſencible it would be his entire ruine to ſend him abroad. Alſo his having been bred up without learning he lay'd to the charge of his mother, as above. It was true, he did not ſeem to think that any great loſs to his ſon, and would often ſay he would have no need of it; that a little learning was enough for a gentleman that had an eſtate above the need of raiſing himſelf higher, and that reading and book knowlege did but ſerv to form vaſt deſigns in men's heads, ſend them up to Court, embark them in *f.* 38. politicks, embroil them with partyes, and by placeing them at the head of factions in the State, involv them in frequent miſchiefs, and ſome times bring them to ruine and diſtruccion; that, he ſaid, he had rather follow him to the grave early, and build an hoſpitall with his eſtate, than break his heart for him 20 or 30 years later, when he ſhould hear of his coming to a ſcaffold; that without ambicion he would be a ſafe man, and might be as happy as this world could make any body; that all the learning in the world could not add to it, but that no man was too high to fall, and the higher the more dangerous; that he had 12000 pound a year clear eſtate to leav him, and ſome money, and his three ſiſters provided for, ſo that he had neither mother's joynture or ſiſters' portions to pay out of it; that if he had a mind to liv gay and ſpend the whole income, yet if he did not ſell nor mortgage, he thought it was enough, and that he had no occaſion to encreaſe; but that if he ſhould prove a good mannager, and had a mind to grow over-rich, he might live in a figure equall to a nobleman, and yet lay up 5000 pound a year, with which he might encreaſe his eſtate to allmoſt what degree he pleaſ'd; but if he had ten times as much he might be no richer than before and, perhaps, not half ſo happy.

I confeſs the argument about his way of living was juſt and well enough: A gentleman of ſuch an eſtate can't propoſe much to himſelf in this world which ſuch an eſtate could not help him to, and nothing can be ſuppoſ'd to ſpend more than ſuch an income without a crime, I mean without a criminal profuſion; but of that by itſelf.

Nor is there any great difference in the article of humane felicity, between his ſpending half of it or all of it: 'Tis very certain that, barring ambition, ſuch an eſtate was enough to bound any modrate man's deſires, and whatſoever prompted his ambition muſt be dangerous to him, as his father well obſerv'd.

The late ever glorious King William uſ'd frequently to ſay that, if he was not a king, and Providence[1] had mercifully plac'd his ſtacion of life in his choice, he would be an Engliſh gentleman of two thouſand pounds a year.

His Majeſty gave many very good reaſons for the narrow compaſs of his deſires, and one which I thought was very ſignificant was this: that it was the ſtacion of life that gave the leaſt room for diſquiet and uneaſyneſs in the world, and the greateſt opportunity of calm and content; that there were[2] very few comforts among man-kind which ſuch an eſtate could not giv, and that to have more rather encumbr'd a gentleman with ſervants and buſſineſs to look after them, than gave any addition to his enjoyment, unleſs a man could ſit ſtill and ſee himſelf cheated by his ſtewards and upper ſervants, and ſuffer all manner of diſorders in his under ſervants with-out any concern at one or diſlike of the other; which he thought no man of ſence could be capable of.

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[1] *D* with a dot in the middle.

[2] *were* is omitted in MS.

As the thoughts His Majeſty had upon that ſubject were very nice, ſo, no doubt, they were grounded upon the beſt principles and were ſuitable to the trueſt nocions of humane delight, I mean virtuous pleaſures, enjoyment without criminal excurſions; and ſo the King often expreſſ't himſelf, adding there was no pleaſure at all in ſtoring up mellancholly reproaches and refleccions for old age.

It will be hard for any man to chalk out a way, how and in what particular figure of life a gentleman could live up to ſuch an eſtate and ſpend £12000 a year without being guilty of ſome criminal excurſions, that is, exceſſes in himſelf, or allowing, and conniving at, them in his family and among his retinue, unleſs he will employ his whole time in ſetting up a mean and unfaſhionable diſcipline in his houſehold, and, like a Vice Chancellor in the Univerſity, eſtabliſh his regulacions for their manners and houres, and even then, as he has no legal authority to puniſh, he can do no *f.* 39 more than diſſmiſs the refractory, ungovernable fellows and take others as bad in their room.

In a word, as His Majeſty ſaid in the caſe before mencion'd, a gentleman of ſuch an eſtate has a weight of buſſineſs upon him equall to a tradeſman in his ſhop or a merchant in his compting houſe. 'Tis a full employment to him to audit his accompts, to be checqing his ſteward's books, bargaining with his tennants, holding his courts, granting leaſes, and hearing cauſes between tennant and tennant and between ſervant and ſervant, ſo that it was a drudgery too much for a gentleman, would make him allways uneaſye, and, in his opinion, overballanc't the benefit of the eſtate it ſelf.

As I have quoted ſo extraordinary a perſon for this opinion, ſo I muſt add that the King made this judgment not from ignorance of the world or want of knowing how to liv in a ſuperior figure, but juſt the contrary; for as he was born a prince fully quallifyed for the government of nacions, ſo he was perfectly accompliſh'd in all the needfull parts of governing his houſehold, which was allwayes great, and he ſpoke this not from an empty ſpeculacion, but from a long experience in the manner of living publick and the ſtate and pomp of a great houſehold.

He ſaw that with a little compact eſtate of £2000 a year he had his time unengroſſ't, his head unencumbr'd; he needed no ſteward, no reciever; he could look over it all himſelf with pleaſure, and had onely to deſire it might be let out in large farms to as few tennants as poſſible, five or ſix was enough, ſuch farmers being generally men of ſubſtance, that pay their rents without any trouble; whereas with a larger eſtate a gentleman is allways engag'd with the wrangling of tennants, their complaints of the ſtewards, or by their knavery or poverty is oblig'd to be allways ruining and tearing them to peices for his rent, ſo that he is neither well uſ'd by them or belov'd by them.

Now, tho' the living criminally profuſe was a thing not unworthy the conſideration of a King, yet I do not ſee it makes any impreſſion among our gentlemen, eſpecially ſince 'tis of late ſo much the faſhion. Every gentleman ſeems to be willing to liv as gay as he can, and we ſee the ſad conſequence of it among them at this time, namely that moſt of our gentry in England with their ignorance and their other defects of head are alſo in but very indifferent condicion as to family circumſtances,[1] and many even of the greateſt eſtates are overwhelm'd in debt, which it muſt be confeſſ't ſeems to be ſome reproach upon their underſtanding, as well as upon their prudence, and intimates that their purſes are empty becauſe their heads are ſo; for it would hardly be thought poſſible that men's pockets ſhould be light, if their brains were not light alſo, when they have perhaps from £500 to two, nay to four, ten, and even to £20,000 a year reall eſtate. But of this I ſhall find occaſion to talk farther by it ſelf, when I come to the extraordinary mannagement of our gentry in the œconomy of their familys and fortunes, which, as reaſon requires, muſt ſupply us with a chapter by it ſelf.

But I come back to the gentleman as deſcrib'd above. He is ſuppoſ'd to be heir to a great eſtate, no leſs than £10 to £12000 a year, and this is given for a reaſon why he ſhould not be well taught; he muſt not go to ſchool; no, his father ſcorns to put him to ſchool, becauſe he is, or rather is to be, a gentleman. Prepoſterous reaſoning! as if the man were really better ignorant and unpoliſh'd, than beautify'd and ſet off with the embelliſhments and improvements of learning and knowlege; as if the diamond was more valuable while it was rough and unpoliſh'd, as it came out of the mine, than after the diamond cutter had by his art brought it to a good ſhape, a true brilliant, taken out all its flaws and ſcarrs, and that you ſee a perfect water; as if the ſilver of Potoſi was better in the oar than in the ingot, and that gold were equall in the river among the ouſe and the ſands, than cleanſ'd and waſh't out.

Let ſuch people run a little paralell between the heir and his eſtate, and let them learn to ſee the abſurdity of this ill form'd notion there. How carefull are the gentlemen of their parks, their woods, their lands, that their waſts be encloſ'd, the timber preſerv'd, their farms well tenanted, the tennants bound up to rules of huſbandry, to lay the plough'd lands fallow at due times, to preſerv the paſtures and break them up with the plow, and, in a word, to practiſe good huſbandry for improving the eſtate, to commit no waſt, make no treſpaſs, keep up the fences, and clear the ditches and water-courſes, keep the farm-houſes in due repair: how carefull, I ſay, are our gentry in all theſe things.

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[1] Abbreviated.

In a word, nothing is forgotten to improv the eſtate, *f.* 40. nothing entirely neglected but the heir, as if his eſtate was to be improv'd, but not his head, and his land was to be duly cultivated, but not his brains. Did the wit deſcend, indeed, with the wealth, and the heir come to his learning, as he came to his lands, by inheritance, there were then, 'tis true, ſome thing to be ſaid for this folly. Then learning and books would be of no uſe to the eldeſt ſon till ſuch and ſuch a time. Then, indeed, inſtruccion and education would be out of the queſtion, and we ſhould have no objeccion againſt letting the heir play away his prime and go a hunting inſtead of going to ſchool. On the other hand, it would be an abſurdity to do otherwiſe.

But ſince it happens to be otherwiſe, and that the heir muſt be taught, or he can not learn; that knowlege does not grow upon the trees, or wiſdome follow and attend the inheritance; ſince ſcience does not deſcend with the honour, and learning like an eſtate is not entail'd on the heirs male; 'tis evedent that young gentlemen muſt acquire knowlege, or go without it.

It is true, there is ſuch a thing as a natural genius, there is a mother wit, a vivacity of ſpirit, that in ſome particular perſons is born with them; that they are ſtored before-hand, made bright at the firſt, and, as 'tis ſaid of ſome that they are born poets, ſo ſome are born with great ſouls, vaſt capaſcityes, and a fund of nature, as it may be call'd, is given them even by original donation; and much of this is boaſted of in thoſe ordinary expreſſions of being born a gentleman, haveing good blood in the veins and haveing deriv'd generous principles from the line, that he came of ſuch a family and of ſuch a blood, and that the young offſpring muſt be all that is great and fine, becauſe he is of the family of ſuch a great man, in a word, becauſe he is a gentleman; as if Rhehoboam was one jot the leſs a fool for being the ſon of a Solomon, or the fitter to reign becauſe his father was a king: the contrary was apparent. He neither had the prudence of the King, nor the ſence of an ordinary man, for nothing that had had an ounce of braines in his head would have given ſuch an anſwer as he did to the people, who came to pray him to abate their burthens or redreſs their grievances; any thing but a fool would have treated them gently, and given them good words, at leaſt at firſt, till he had been acknowleg'd for king and had been well ſeated in the throne; and then he might have turn'd tyrant or anything, as 'tis plain his father had done before him. As it was then, ſo it is ſtill: We ſee that brains do not allways deſcend, no, not to the greateſt; ſence and underſtanding is no appennage to the prince, nor is wiſdome entail'd upon the crown. A king may laye his claim to the government of his kingdom by hereditary right from his anceſtors; he may have his crown that way: but he muſt have his governing quallifications by other methods, namely by applicacion, by inſtruccion, by example, and by experience.

It is the ſame with us all. The gentleman may have his eſtate from his anceſtors, nay, the beauty of his body may in part deſcend from his parents, and the health of conſtitution may owe much to birth and blood, and, if we may believ the learned, it is not a little advantage to be born of a healthy, vigrous race;

but the brains are the matter in queſtion, and there we ſee generacion very little concern'd in the caſe; the wiſe man begets the fool, and the fool gives a wiſe man to the world. Nature ſeems to have very little concern in the intellectuall part, that ſeems guided by ſome other influence; nor is it any reproach to our underſtanding to ſay we know not how or by what ſecret operation 'tis wrought; how comes a fool to convey ſtrong capaſcities, and an empty weak head deliver a full capable genius to the world; of which alſo hereafter.

But to give up this point, I am content to allow that, as ſome men are born dull and that 'tis ordinarily ſaid of ſuch a man he is *a natural fool*, ſo, on the other hand, ſome are born bright, have a ſprightly wit, a great genius, a capacious ſoul, deep reach and clear thoughts even from their birth, I won't ſay from their parents; for ſome times 'tis ſo when the father, nay, perhaps all the fathers from ſeverall generacions paſt have been fools.

But what is all this to the thing before us? In a great wood if a fine well grown oak preſents it ſelf to the eye, we ſay there is a fine tree; that's true, and Nature obtains the praiſe ſo farr. But when it comes to uſe, it muſt be cut down, the bark ſtript off, the knotty limbs taken away, the ſawyers cut it out into plank, the carpenter ſquares it with his rule, *f.* 41. and then 'tis ſmooth'd with the plain, groov'd with one tool, carv'd with another, and then 'tis fitt to be ſet up againſt the wall, and wainſcott the Hall of Audience, or the Preſence Chamber of a prince, or the State Room of a pallace. But till all theſe pains are beſtow'd upon it, it is onely potentially good and uſefull; 'tis not naturally finiſh'd and perfect: it muſt be ſhap'd and ſquar'd as art requires. It is alſo to my purpoſe to obſerv, carrying on the metaphor, that even the moſt crooked, out of ſhape tree in the whole wood is capable by the help of the ſame art to be brought to the ſame perfection in its degree, and onely with this difference, that the crooked ſtick requires more workmanſhip, more hewing and cutting, makes more chips, and ſuffers more waſt, before 'tis brought to take place among the ornaments of the pallace, whereas the ſtrait, well ſhap'd tree is finiſh'd with leſs trouble, leſs difficulty, leſs workmanſhip and art. In a word, the ſtrait tree is wrought with leſs pains than the crooked, but both require ſome. Thus the bright genius, the naturall beauty of the mind, the parts, the witt, the capaſcities given by Nature to one youth, cauſe him to be poliſh'd and cultivated with more eaſe, and he is finiſh'd with fewer hands in leſs time and with much leſs difficulty than another crooked, knotty, ſtubborn diſpoſition, which being naturally dul and awkward requires much more hewing and ſhapeing and dreſſing.

But ſtill, as above, both theſe require ſome: the brighteſt muſt be poliſh'd and ſmoothed; ſome labour, ſome aplication is requir'd in the brighteſt genius, and this is what I am pleading for. If we ſee a youth among the poor people of good natural parts, quick thought, ſtrong memory, ſharp wit, as it often happens, we are generally apt to ſay 'tis pity the boy ſhould not be put to ſchool, 'tis pity he ſhould not be well taught; and ſome times ſuch a youth has been pick'd up and taught in meer charity by ſome man of learning and eſtate who has ſo pityed his circumſtances; and ſome great men, who I could name if it were proper, have been raiſ'd in the world from ſuch beginings.

But ſtill this bright genius muſt be made brighter by art. What are the quick parts, the naturall wit, the ſtrong memory, the great capaſcityes? what are they, and what are they given for? 'Tis evedent they are given for ſome uſes, which they are not wholly fitted for but by the applicacion of other ſuitable helps. They are receptible of all the glorious things which ſcience, learning, and acquir'd knowlege can furniſh, but they are perfectly unquallify'd to act alone. A deaf child has the capaſcity of ſpeech and all the wit and vivacity of ſoul, and, perhaps, a thouſand times more than another child born of the ſame parents; but of what uſe are they all, when for want of ſpeech, which is learning, for it can not be attain'd without hearing and imitacion, it can take in no ideas, knows nothing by its name, underſtands not the nature of the things it knows, much leſs their end, can form no conſequences, knows no ſound, and, in a word, half the world is, as it were, of no uſe to him, and half his naturall powers are uſeleſs, becauſe unimprov'd.

I obſerv that we often miſtake in this very caſe about young gentlemen, and call their naturall capaſcityes learning; at leaſt we think them equivalent to learning, and that ſuch ſtand in need of no aſſiſtance, but that time and converſation will be ſufficient, and they are men of parts, of courſe, having alſo good eſtates to ſupply the main deficiency.

But theſe people miſtake not the fact onely, but the true deſign of Nature, and even of the Author of Nature. It is apparent that treaſure of wit and parts is given from Heaven to be cultivated and improv'd; and as God ſet Adam to till the ground after the fall, and told him, if he did not do it, ay, and labour and ſweat at it, too, he ſhould have no bread, and it ſhould bring forth nothing but briars and thorns to him without tillage and cultivation: ſo it is in his brains and underſtanding to this day, if he will kno' he muſt learn. *f.* 42.

I will not diſpute with thoſe who affirm that, if Adam had not fallen, his poſterity would have been compleat, not onely in their parts and capaſcityes of knowing, but in knowlege it ſelf; that as he was created in a perfeccion of wiſdome, ſo his poſterity would have come into the world finiſh'd as he did, and as we ſee the brutes do to this day, that their naturall ſagacity, caution for ſafety, care for their food, and knowlege in diſtinguiſhing it, grows up with them. But as to man, it is evedent, what ever it was before the fall, it is not ſo now; what ever brightneſs of parts, what ever genius, wit, and capacity the man is naturally furniſh'd with, it is requir'd that thoſe jewells ſhould be poliſhed, that learning be apply'd to them, that rules and inſtruccions be layd before them, and that hiſtorys and examples of times and perſons be recommended to them, and that all this be enforc'd by the authority of inſtructors, parents, ſchoolmaſters, etc.

And what will all the natural capaſcities of a child amount to without teaching? What uſe will nature direct him to make of them? None of the beſt you may venture to ſay; for tho' nature is the beſt fund, yet the dictates of nature are not the beſt guides. The learned may talk of the rectitude of Nature and of natural religion in bar of the principle which others inſiſt upon, that nature is originally deprav'd: I am for putting it to the generall iſſue, if they can tell me by any one example when nature of its meer undirected inclination guided mankind to make the beſt choice of things, and rejecting the pleaſing objects of ſence led him to chooſe vertue by a meer propenſity of will without inſtruccion or example; then I may come into the notion of natural rectitude with ſome appearance of reaſon.

But while, on the contrary, I ſee nature acting the reverſe of all this, and that men are in their youth hurry'd down the ſtream of their worſt affeccions by the meer inſenſible impetuoſity of nature: I ſay while it is[1] thus, and that not generally onely, but univerſally,

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[1] *is* omitted in MS.

I can not but conclude that there is ſomething of originall depravity in nature more than thoſe gentlemen think of.

And what does all this import (to bring it down to my preſent purpoſe) but that Nature is not able to accompliſh the gentleman without the help of outward application? Nature works by its Maker's direccion, and can not go beyond it ſelf. Nature will ſometimes go out of its way, as I may call it, and work without its ordinary means, and, when it does ſo, it produces monſters; but Nature can not act beyond its given powers; for example, Nature forms the organs of ſpeech, but 'tis evedent Nature teaches no body to ſpeak, and if a child is not taught it would never ſpeak at all, and therefore we ſee in children taught to ſpeak they yet ſpeak no more languages than they are taught, and if they are deſirous to ſpeak other tongues they muſt apply to it with labour and diligence, ſtrength of memory, books and maſters, or go over into the countrys where thoſe tongues are ſpoke, and learn them there by mimickry and imitacion, as children learn to ſpeak; for all firſt ſpeaking is mimickry and no other.

It is the ſame in ſcience and every kind of knowlege in its degree. Nature would be but a poor inſtructor in art, in philoſophy, in the mathematicks, without the helps of teaching and inſtruccion. How far could Nature go to teach a poor uninſtructed head the doctrin of the ſpheres, the mocion of the planets and of all the heavenly bodyes? How long is it ago ſince the Muſcovites gather'd about a Scots gentleman's lodging who had ſome knowlege of aſtronomy, at Moſco, and would have mobb'd him and torn him to peices for a ſorcerer for telling them before-hand that ſuch a day at ſuch an hour and minute the ſun would be ecclypſ'd, how much it would be darken'd, and how long it would hold? 'Tis not many years ſince, for the gentleman is ſtill alive. *f.* 43.

The meer knowlege attain'd by uninſtructed nature is a poor dark lanthorn light, that glares in the ſight of thoſe that look at it, rather blinds them than helps them to ſee, and is onely uſefull to thoſe that ſtand behind it.

And this is the reaſon why we have ſo much ignorance among all the bright men of this age, that ſome of our gentlemen who have the cleaneſt parts, the pureſt naturall wit, and the beſt capaſcityes that are to be ſeen any where, are yet the moſt ignorant dark creatures in this part of the world. The caſe carryes its evedence in it ſelf. They are untaught: where ſhould they raiſe it? Nature is a fund of ſence, but inſtruccion onely is the fund of knowlege.

I can not but obſerv here a kind of an alternativ in the evedence of the thing before me. One ſide of the queſtion anſwers the other, and they are a demonſtration of one another. The ignorance and weakneſs of our gentlemen are a teſtimony of the defficency of nature unpoliſh'd by inſtruccion; and the weakneſs and incapacity of nature to ſupply the want of litterature and inſtruccion, is a reaſon of the ignorance and weakneſs of the gentry.[1] They are without doubt men of as good naturall capaſcityes and furniſh'd with as much mother wit; at leaſt many of them, and as many of them in proporcion to their number as in any nation in the world; and where they are well taught they are equall, if not out-do, moſt men in the world, as is evedent by the excellency of their ſtudyes and the perfeccion ſome have come to in the moſt critical parts of learning, of which I have ſaid ſome thing all-ready; and yet where is there ſo little

[1] *G.*

little improvement, where ſo much blunder and nonſence, where ſo much pride and ſelf opinion, as among theſe men *of Nature*, theſe people call'd gentlemen, who are ſaid to lay claim to[1] bright genius and to be polite finiſh'd perſons?

If a man was to travell thro' Poland, a country famous over Europe for the moſt numerous body of gentlemen: no nacion comes up to them for great families and for a like number of them, and tho' there are ſome ill quallityes or rather ſins of cuſtome which attend them, which 'tis forreign to my buſſineſs to ſpeak of here, yet 'tis certain they don't fail here, viz., that they are all ſchollars, all bred at the ſeverall Univerſities either of their own or neighbouring countryes, and tho' they do not ſpeak faſhionably, as we do, that is, do not ſpeak French (for they deſpiſe it), yet they all ſpeak Latin, and a man that can talk Latin may travel from one end of Poland to another as familiarly as if he was born in the country.

Bleſs us! what would a gentleman do that was to travel thro' our country, and could ſpeak nothing but Latin. One would be aſham'd to ſay to him that he would find no body to converſe with but here and there a parſon and a pædagogue; nay, he would find it very difficult to aſk for any thing he wanted and for finding the road from one place to another. I muſt lament his condition; for if he was once loſt, one could hardly conciev how he would do to enquire his way, eſpecially if the town or city to which he was going had a proper name which was ſome thing different in its ſound in the Latin from its vulgar tone in the Engliſh; for example, ſuppoſe him in the forreſt of Dean and travelling towards Worceſter, what would a country gentleman ſay to him that he[2] was to meet and he ſhould aſk the way *ad civitatem Wigornenſis* (!), or in the biſhoprick of Durham, *ad civitatem Dunhelmenſis* (!), or *Novum Caſtrum*, to Newcaſtle, and the like of many other places? The poor ſtranger would be in great danger of being loſt, as for his food, indeed, ſome ſignals might be ſubſtituted in ſtead of ſpeech, as pointing to the mouth, and the mocion of drinking, and eſpecially producing the money to pay for it; but for the reſt we muſt ſay, Mercy upon him! 'Twould be a bold venture for him to travel without an interpreter; he might allmoſt as well ſpeak Arabick or Sclavonian or the Ruſs or Chineſe as Latin, which is underſtood by a few happy younger brothers, who have been bred up upon another foundation, that is to ſay, *f.* 44. to get their bread, and came to the eſtates by the miſſfortune of the family and the untimely death of the heir.

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[1] *to* is omitted in MS.

[2] *he* is omitted in MS.

That this is the caſe, and that I do the gentry[1] no wrong, as I am dealing with men of honour, I ſhall not go out of my way for vouchers; I appeal to themſelves. They will not offer to denye the fact, nay, 'tis the greateſt favour I can aſk of them not to boaſt of it, value themſelves upon it, and flye out in the moſt contemptible ſarcaſms upon the ſcandalous thing call'd reading and bookiſhneſs as unfaſhionable, ungentile, and below a gentleman.

I have indeed been oblig'd in diſcourſe with ſome gentlemen of my unlearned friends to giv up that queſtion and grant the great article inſiſted on, viz., that to be a ſchollar is out of the way in the life of a gentleman, that learning is for the meaner people, who are to get their bread by it, and the like, as before. But then I allwayes held them faſt to this, that if they would not learn Latin and Greek, and would not put their children to ſchools or to the Univerſities, or have them taught languages, yet methinks they might teach them Engliſh; they might allow it needful to teach them to read and write, and particularly to ſpell, that, they might not be aſham'd to anſwer a letter, nay, to write but the ſuperſcription of a letter, which is ſometimes done in ſo weak, not to ſay ſilly, a manner as allmoſt tells us what we are to expect in the inſide by what we ſee on the outſide.

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[1] *G.*

It is with much difficulty, indeed, that I could bring them to this, and it is with as much regret that I muſt take notice here how few gentlemen in England are maſters even of the Engliſh tongue it ſelf. Horrid ignorance! yet to our ſhame how notorious is it! how many juſtices of the peace have we allmoſt in every county that know not how to make a mittimus or write a warrant, nay, that can hardly write their names to the warrant or mittimus when their clark has drawn it up.

This article ſuffers ſo much enquiry into it, and caryes ſo much juſt ſcandal in that enquiry, that, were I not forced to it in the courſe of neceſſary obſervation, I would cover it in ſilence for the ſake of my nativ country.

And yet I do not lay the ſtreſs of this complaint ſo much upon the writing part, tho' 'tis a ſcandalous thing enough to ſee gentlemen of fortunes and families, and who value themſelves upon their birth, quallity, and eſtates, that can hardly write their own names, at leaſt that can't write legibly, ſuppoſe they had a letter to write upon the moſt extraordinary occaſion.

But the great ſatyr of it is that, when they do write, and ſuppoſing they could write a tolerable hand, they can neither write ſtile nor Engliſh; in a word, they can't ſpell their mother tongue. It would ſurfeit a man to read the Engliſh that ſome gentlemen write, and that not the weak and fooliſh; for of them no other would be expected; but ſome who make a good appearance in company, talk well enough, and ſeem to be men of underſtanding. How dull did it look for a gentleman of ſence and of tollerable good diſcourſe, too, upon an accidental diſſaſter in his family but the other day, to write to his friend that there was a *mollinkolli accidence be happen'd* in his houſe; it ſeems one of his ſervants had drown'd himſelf.

A gentleman from Tunbridge writes a letter to his ſteward in Hartford-ſhire in the following extraordinary Engliſh, which with the moſt comicall ſcrawl of a hand that can well be imagin'd might giv us ſome teſt of the ſkill in writing as well as the orthography of a juſtice of peace and a gentleman of £1200 a year eſtate, bred, too, within thirty miles of the capital city. *f.* 45.

Here the letter.[1]

Another from the Bath writes a letter to the major domo of his family, who was left behind to take care of his houſehold affaires.

Here the other.[1]

N.B. I can ſo well vouch the fact of theſe two letters, and that they are genuine, not the product of my invention, that I have the originals to produce upon occaſion.

I might giv innumerable inſtances of the like weakneſs in gentlemen of extraordinary quallity in our own country, at the ſame time acknowleging that I have not met with the like abroad. I can aſſure you that the gentlemen of other countryes ſeem to be otherwiſe educated; and even to go no farther than the northern part of our own iſland, it is quite otherwiſe, and you find very few of the gentry, and I may ſay, none at all of the higher rank of them, either ignorant or unlearn'd; nay, you cannot ordinarily find a ſervant in Scotland but he can read and write.

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[1] No letters are preserved.

When I was mencioning this to an Engliſh gentleman of the untaught claſs, and makeing a compariſon between the Engliſh gentry and thoſe of Scotland, of Holland, and of Germany, he laught and told me it was becauſe they were all poor and univerſally had the advance of their fortunes in view, which the Engliſh gentry[1] had not; that this confirm'd what he had ſaid and what I but juſt now mencioned, (viz.) if he had been a younger brother his father would have ſent him to ſchool, and that he did ſo himſelf with his younger ſons, becauſe they had their fortunes to make; that he intended to buy his ſecond ſon a regiment of horſe (if it could be had) and to recommend him to His Majeſtie's favour for the firſt foreign ſervice, and he did not doubt, if war happen'd in the world, but he might ſee him be a generall officer and, perhaps, lay the foundacion of a collaterall branch in his houſe, adding that then his eldeſt ſon would have no more need of books than his grandfather had.

Then he told me that he had ſent his third ſon to the Univerſity allready, and was reſolv'd to breed him to the Law, and by the ſame rule hop'd to ſee him made a judge; ſo that I might ſee he did not ſo much undervalue learning as ſuch; he allow'd it to be mighty uſefull where there was a family to be raiſ'd and fortunes to be made, but as for his eldeſt ſon he could not ſee of what uſe it would be to him, becauſe, as he had ſaid above, that it was doing juſt nothing, that it would be throwing away his pleaſanteſt yeares mauling and beating his brains to learn what had no ſignification to him when he had it. I thought it was ſomething natural to anſwer that the ſword is no friend to the gown, that the armys were generally no ſeminaryes for learning, nor were the Univerſityes underſtood to be nurſeries for ſoldiers; that ignorance and arms ſeem'd rather to be of kin to one another than the book and the ſword, and that his ſecond ſon had much leſs need of a ſtock of letters than his eldeſt. I aſkt him why diamonds were ſet in ſilver and ſome times in gold but to ſet off the luſtre and add to the beauty, and that, doubtleſs, learning to a man of quallity and fortune was an admirable embelliſhment, as virtue was ſet off by beauty, and beauty illuſtrated by vertue.

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[1] *G.*

He anſwer'd me I miſtook the caſe, as well as the ſimily; that perfect virtue or perfect beauty were incapable of additions; that the error was in our eye-ſight; like hanging paintings over fine tapeſtry, it was eclypſing one ornament to let another ſhine; that a great eſtate was a perfect glory, it could reciev no addition, and wanted no helps to the enjoyment of it; that all thoſe things I talk'd of were to be bought with money, and he that had the money had them all in his pocket; that, as to learning, it was no more an ornament to a gentleman than muſick, in which, after the longeſt labring at it that a gentleman could be ſuppoſ'd to allow, a common fiddler or an ordinary trumpeter ſhould out do him; that 'twas enough to him to hear good muſic without ſetting up to be an artiſt, that is to ſay, a mechanick; that Nero was an admirable ſinger, and that the late Emperor Leopold of Germany play'd excellently well upon the violin, and that all the addition he got to his titles was that the great Louis XIV. it ſeems uſed to call him the Old Fiddler of Vienna; and "Pray," ſayes he, "which is worſt of the two? d'ye think I had not as liev my eldeſt ſon ſhould be call'd a fool as a fiddler?"

He run on thus a great while, and I ſaw there was no dealing with him by argument as to that of learning, for the averſion was riveted; ſo I engag'd him upon the head of writing and of ſpelling and underſtanding Engliſh; and I aſk'd him if he did not think it was a ſhamefull thing to ſee an Engliſh gentleman of the higheſt rank, and that might upon public occaſions be ſociety for the King or the Prince, and yet upon any neceſſity, let it be of what kind it would, was not able to write a letter, much leſs write either a good ſtile or good ſence, no, not in his mother tongue, and, what was ſtill worſe, was not capable of ſpelling the words in any manner fit to be ſeen or poſſible to be read.

This, indeed, pinch't him a little; he confeſſ't that was too often the caſe with gentlemen, and was too much his own, and was allmoſt ready to giv it up to me; but then he call'd to mind what he ſaid he had heard his grand-father ſay, who ſerv'd abroad in the wars in Germany under Guſtavus Adolphus, that there were three Scots generalls, all of the name of Leſly, in the king's army, whoſe names were famous, nay, even terrible, at that time over the whole world for bravery and conduct, and raiſ'd themſelves by their extraordinary ſkill in military affaires as well as their courage and experience; yet not one of the three could either read or write; but that they had a particular ſtamp, which, dipt in ink, would mark the whole name at one impreſs, as a ſeal does a coat of arms in wax, and that *f.* 45 *b.* with this ſtamp they ſign'd orders, warrants, capitulacions, and all public acts needfull for a governor of a province or a general officer.

This was ſtrange I confeſſ'd, and might, perhaps, be true, tho' I ſuppoſ'd he could not be ſure of it; but when I aſk'd whether he thought the ſtory was any addition to their fame or rather the contrary, he ſmil'd, and ſaid he own'd it made their preferment to ſuch great employment be the more ſtrange, and that he could not recommend the patern; but then he added that this was nothing to the caſe, and that, as he had granted that the youngeſt ſons onely ſhould go into the war, ſo he thought it was very proper they ſhould be well taught, becauſe, as before, they were to gain their bread and raiſe their fortunes. As to learning Latin and Greek, he would not allow a word of that; there he was poſitiv, yet he could not denye but a gentleman ſhould be taught to write and read and ſhould be able, if poſſible, to ſpell, that is, as 'tis ordinarily call'd, to write good Engliſh; but he acknowleg'd alſo that he did not ſee how the latter was to be done without hooking him in for Latin and Greek too, which he ſaid was intolerable; ſo I found upon the whole that rather than to be troubl'd with any learning of tongues he would ſubmit to have even his mother tongue left out alſo, and that the heir ſhould neither be able to underſtand good Engliſh, or to ſpell it, much leſs to write it.

Thus, as I ſaid before, the gentlemen of this nation are drag'd up; I can't call it bred up. They are left utterly untaught and ſo far from underſtanding the ordinary ſchool languages of Greek and Latin, that they are not able to write or ſpell true Engliſh. How they ſhould ſpeak it, remains to be enquir'd into.

As in all languages there is a beauty of ſtile, a cadence and harmony in the expreſſion, ſo in the Engliſh much more than any other vulgar ſpeech in the world. The late Earle of Roſcommon, the moſt exact writer and the beſt judge of polite language in his time,[1] confirms my opinion, and I need no better a teſtimoniall. Speaking of the French, which was boaſted of at that time as a polite and beautifull language, he ſayes:

For who did ever in French authors ſee
The comprehenſiv Engliſh energie?
The weighty bullion of one ſterling line
Drawn to French wire would thro' whole pages ſhine.[2]

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[1] MS. *tine.*

[2] *ſhine* not in MS.

Allowing then our language to be beautifull, ſtrong, expreſſiv, and polite, as it certainly is above all the vulgar tongues, what ſhall we ſay to the groſs ignorance of our gentlemen, who ſlight not the language, for that is abov the contempt not of them onely but of all the world, but ſlight themſelves ſo as not to be able to either ſpeak, write, read, or ſpell the beautifulleſt and beſt improv'd language in the world, and that with this miſerable addition that at the ſame time they can ſpeak no other neither, no, nor write or read any other?

I think I may, without any preſumcion, challenge the world to ſhow a ſtupidity equall to this; and yet theſe perſons boaſt of their birth, their fortune, their families, then call themſelves gentlemen, and learn to contemn all the world as inferiour and below them.

I can ſee nothing like it in all the converſible world. I will talk no more of Ruſſia and the Muſcovites. I do not, indeed, reckon them among the converſible world, at leaſt not till very lately; but their being ſo unconverſible is all owing to this very kind of pride, namely, an affected pride of ignorance and valuing themſelves upon the groſſeſt ſtupidity and ſo reſolvedly brutal as to abhor learning and contemn the improvement of all the reſt of the world.

f. 46. After inſiſting on this particular teſtimony of the obſtinate ignorance of our untaught gentry, it would be no novelty to give a thouſand examples of the weakneſſes, the impertinences, and odd things that come from them as the conſequence of this ignorance and the effect of their great want of education. Sir A. B. is a gentleman of a great eſtate and of a mighty antient family, belov'd in the country where he lives to an extravagance. Every body, man, woman, and child, gives him a good word: the beſt humour'd, beſt bred gentleman in the world, ſo kind, ſo courteous, ſo charitable, the beſt neighbour, the beſt landlord, the beſt maſter. All the country pray for him, nay, they allmoſt pray *to* him ; they are ready to worſhip and adore him. They tell you he does every body good and never did any wrong to poor or rich.

A few yeares ago, he built a noble manſion houſe for the family, encloſ'd his park with a brick wall, enlarg'd his gardens and canals and fiſhponds ; nay, he ſpent a world of money more than he intended, meerly that he might ſet the poor at work, it being the dead time.

At Chriſtmaſs, if he is oblig'd to be at Court or at the Parliament or both, he never fails to make a trip into the country on purpoſe to call all his poor neighbours and tennants together to make their hearts glad with his open houſe-keeping, and to ſee them all merry according to antient cuſtome and the uſage of his anceſtors.

'Twould fill a book to publiſh all the good things the country ſay of this gentleman, and which he really deſerves from them. It happened once upon finiſhing his fine houſe and being juſt ſettling its furniture that he carryed another gentleman, a particular friend of his, to ſee it. This other gentleman was a man of letters, had liv'd abroad, ſeen abundance of the fine pallaces in France, in Italy, in Germany and other places, but acknowleg'd that all was admirably well here, and even out-did the forreigners, eſpecially for our manner of building in England, where neat compact boxes are the uſage of the country, not vaſt pallaces to be finiſh'd in appartments by the heirs for fiv or ſix generacions to come and as the eſtate will allow the charge.

He aſſur'd him his houſe out-did many larger pallaces that he had ſeen, that the ſituacion was well choſen, the waterworks well ſerv'd, the apartments well ſuited and with the uttmoſt convenience; that the viſtas and the avenues were proper and well planted, the gardens well deſign'd; that every thing was perfectly well finiſh'd, and, in a word, that it was a charming houſe and a ſeat fitt for a man of his quallity.

Then he admir'd the furniture, which was rich, new, and very well fitted: but "Sir," ſayes he, "will you giv me leav to make an objeccion or two?" The gentleman told him, with all his heart. "And will you not take it ill?" ſayes his friend.

"So far from that," ſayes the gentleman, "that I ſhall take it very well; 'tis the kindeſt thing you can do."

"I kno'," ſayes his friend, "ſome gentlemen are not pleaſ'd with that freedome."

"I aſſure you, Sir," ſayes Sir A. B., "I am the reverſe of that humour, and you can not oblige me more. Pray be ſo free with me."

"Why, Sir," ſayes his friend, "you want ſome good paintings; pictures are a noble ornament to a houſe. Nothing can ſet it off more."

"Why, you ſee my great ſtaircaſe is tollerably full," ſayes he, "and I have ſome more a-comeing down for the hall."

Friend: "I don't find any defect in the quantity," ſayes the friend.

Gentleman: "What then? pray, are they not good peices? Why, they are all originals and ſome by the beſt maſters which they ſay are to be heard of."

f. 47. *Friend:* "I would not meddle with it; 'tis none of my buſſineſs."

Gentleman: "Nay, pray, be free with me; you may do me a ſervice."

Friend: "Let me put the previous queſtion then, as they ſay in the Houſe: Did you buy them your ſelf?"

Gentleman: "Why truly, 'tis an important queſtion; to tell you the truth, I did not."

Friend: "I thought ſo indeed."

Gentleman: "Nay, if I had, it might have been worſe; for I do not underſtand them at all. I love a good ſtory in a picture and a battle or a ſea peace (!); but as for the performance, the painting, I have no notion of it; any body may impoſe upon me."

Friend: "And I doubt you have been impoſed upon, then."

Gentleman: "I hope not, for I truſted a very good friend."

Friend: "Ay, he might be a friend; but had he a good judgement himſelf?"

Gentleman: "He is mighty curious that way, I aſſure you, and ſayes no man can deciev him."

Friend: "Nay, they muſt have deciev'd him, if they ſold him thoſe peices for originals; or it muſt be worſe."

Gentleman: "I underſtand you I believ; but I have an entire confidence in my friend; he would not impoſe upon me himſelf."

Friend: "Nay, he muſt have impoſ'd upon you one way or other."

Gentleman: "How do you mean? I don't underſtand you now."

Friend: "Why, if he has not impoſ'd on you in the price, he has impoſ'd on you by telling you he had a good judgment; for it is apparent either he has abuſ'd you, or has been greatly abuſ'd himſelf. I hope they coſt you but little."

Gentleman: "You ſurpriſe me, I aſſure you; they coſt me a great deal of money."

Friend: "I am ſure you ſurpriſe me; for there is not three peices of them that deſerv the name of pictures, or that are fit to be ſeen in ſuch a houſe as this."

Gentleman: "Well you do me a ſervice, indeed; for I had given him order to buy a great many more at an auction that is to begin in a very few dayes."

Friend: "But, perhaps, he may do better for you. Pray, don't let me hinder any body."

Gentleman: "Not hinder any body cheating me? Say no more of that; I find I am cheated enough allready. Why he has had £300 of me, and now may call for as much more; for I have not ſtinted him."

Friend: "What's £300 to you!"

Gentleman: "Nay, hold there! tho' £300 won't hurt me much, yet I hate to be cheated. I had rather giv £500 away to an honeſt man than be cheated of one."

Friend: "I confeſs I ſhould not like to be impoſ'd upon."

Gentleman: "A man not onely loſes his money, but is taken for a fool, too, by the very man that cheats him. Now, I am fool enough in many things, but I hate to be thought a fool, and looſe my money, too. I'll ſend him a letter imediately, if the poſt is not gone, to prevent his buying any more." [*He calls a ſervant who comes in imediately.*[1]] "Here, Watley."

Gentleman: "Go, call the ſtewart hither, bid him come this moment."

Servant: "Yes, Sir." [*His ſervant goes out, and he calls him back.*]

Gentleman: "Hold, Watley, come hither. Is the poſt gon by?"

Servant: "I believ not, Sir. 'Tis not his time by an hour, and I think he has not call'd, I did not hear him." [*Note: The poſt boy going allways by his door blow'd his horn as he came near, and then call'd at the gate to kno' if they had any letters.*]

Gentleman: "Well, call the ſteward then."

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[1] MS. *imedately.*

Servant: "Yes, Sir." [*He calls the ſteward, who comes in immediately.*].

Gentleman: "Here Mr . . . . . , go and write a letter to Mr W . . . . immediately, and forbid him buying me any more pictures till farther orders."

Steward: "Shall I write it in my own name as by your order, or will your worſhip pleaſe to ſign it?"

Gentleman: "I'll ſign it. Write it in my name poſitiv, but do it immediately before the poſt is gone."

Steward: "Yes, Sir. I'll bring it preſently."

[*The ſteward goes out.*

Friend: "Had you not better write it your ſelf? He may perhaps think you are the more in earneſt."

Gentleman: "If I ſet my hand to it that's as well. Beſides, *I* write letters? No, no, you miſtake me very much."

Friend: "I beg your pardon, Sir; indeed, I ſhould have known better. What need you trouble yourſelf!"

Gentleman: "If that were all, I ſhould not think ſo *f.* 48. much of the trouble. But you miſtake the caſe I tell you. I can't write; I don't write a letter once a year, nor wou'd not do it once in ſeaven years, if I cou'd help it."

Friend: "How can you live? Why, you can't correſpond with your friends."

Gentleman: "That's true, and I don't correſpond with 'em for that reaſon, or but very little."

Friend: "Then you loſe the greateſt pleaſure of life."

Gentleman: "It is ſo, indeed; but I can't help it."

Friend: "I wonder ſuch an activ, briſk, ſpirited gentleman as you are can be ſo. Why, 'tis nothing but meer indolence."

Gentleman: "Huſh! Never mencion it any more. I am aſham'd to hear it, but 'tis no indolence I aſſure you. I never was a lazy fellow in my life."

Friend: "What can it be then? You write a good fair hand."

Gentleman: "I write indifferently. I can ſet my name, and that's enough for a gentleman."

Friend: "I think I have ſeen letters from you."

Gentleman: "I don't kno'; if you have, it has been but very ſeldome."

Friend: "I kno' you country gentlemen don't love any trouble. You kno' nothing but pleaſure in the world."

Gentleman: "You ſhould ſay you kno' that we country gentlemen are good for nothing and bred to nothing but to be meer country bl . . . . . s."

Friend: "No, not ſo; the gentlemen are not allways ſchollars, but then they have leſs need of learning; for they have good eſtates, and ſo have the leſs need of it."

Gentleman: "I differ from you in that part extremely. I think we have the more need of it, becauſe we have the greater opportunityes to improv it and make uſe of it."

Friend: "You are rich, and the eſtate makes up the loſs to a vaſt advantage."

Gentleman: "Yes, we are rich and f . . . . s. There's a rare ballance.[1] Heaven is righteous not to giv his bleſſings in unequall ſhares, as I read lately an unlucky verſe or two made upon two fool gentlemen in this country, much ſuch a one as I am:

Wiſe Providence to poiſe the town thought fit,
Gave them eſtates, but bated it in wit."

Friend: "You are too keen upon your ſelf. 'Tis none of your character, I am ſure, what ever it may be of your neighbours."

Gentleman: "You are very kind to judge the beſt;

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[1] MS. *ball^a*.

but you don't remember that my father, according to the laudable practiſe of the time, divided his bounty betwen his two ſons, gave my brother Jack the brains, and me the eſtate."

Friend: "I don't underſtand you."

Gentleman: "You are not ſo dull, onely you are ſo mannerly, you can't ſpeak plain. I tell you he bred Jack to be a ſchollar and a man of ſence, ſent him to Wincheſter School and from thence to Oxford, and now he is as bright a fellow as moſt in the country; he's fit for the Court or the State or the camp or any thing; and for me, he left me to be brought up to nothing, that is ſay, to be a . . . . . gentleman."

Friend: "A gentleman, well; and can you be better? Han't you a vaſt eſtate? An't you rich?"

Gentleman: "Yes, I am rich! Did you ever read the Bible?" *f.* 49.

Friend: "The Bible? Why, what does that ſay to the caſe?"

Gentleman: "Why, it tells you that the rich glutton went to the D——. I wonder where the rich fools muſt go."

Friend: "You are pleaſ'd to be merry, but you are too keen upon your ſelf."

Gentleman: "Merry with my own diſſaſters! the more of a fool ſtill; but hold, here's the letter come."

> [*The ſteward brings the letter, and he reads it, but does not like ſome part of it, and made him add or alter ſomething in it; then gave him direccions for the ſuper-ſcripcion, and ſeting his hand to the letter ſent him out again.*

Friend: "Why, now, Sir, in my opinion you have had allmoſt as much trouble about this little note, for it is not above threer (*ſic*) or four lines, as if you had written it yourſelf."

Gentleman: "So I have, and I would not have put my ſelf to all that trouble, if I could have done it my ſelf."

Friend: "It is all a myſtry to me. I don't underſtand it."

Gentleman: "Why, then I'll explain the mighty difficulty to you. The plain truth is I can't ſpell; I can't write true Engliſh."

Friend: "I'm anſwer'd. That's a defect I confeſs."

Gentleman: "And ſuch a defect as I am aſham'd of, but I can't help it; 'twas no fault of mine."

Friend: "But, Sir, 'tis ſo generall a defect, too, that it need not afflict you; for where is there one gentleman in ten that can write good[1] Engliſh?"

Gentleman: "That may be; but not one in ten of them that write bad Engliſh, write it ſo bad as I do; but I take care no body ſhall know it."

Friend: "But you muſt write ſome letters, and one will diſcover it as well as one thouſand."

Gentleman: "But I have a way for that too; for if I am oblig'd to write a letter I dictate the ſubſtance, and then make the ſteward write it, who, as you ſee, writes very fine and ſpells well too; ſo, when he is gone and thinks his letter is ſent away, I go into his room, and coppye it over carefully, and ſend it away, as if it were my own, and ſo I learn to ſpell."

Friend: "That's very troubleſome to you."

Gentleman: "It is ſo; but what can I do?"

Friend: "Do? why, I'd write, let it be how it will; 'tis what many gentlemen do as well as you, and 'tis reckon'd no diſgrace to them."

Gentleman: "No, I can't do that. I kno' ſo much of the defect, and how ſcandalous it is; I can't do it. I would not write a letter to brother Jack for £500."

Friend: "You have mannag'd well, to conceal it from your own brother all this while."

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[1] In MS. a shorthand abbreviation.

Gentleman: "I have taken an effectuall way, for I never write to him at all."

Friend: "I can not think but with a little practiſe, obſervation, reading, and remembring, you would get over that difficulty."

Gentleman: "No, never! Beſides, I have no memory for ſuch things."

Friend: "Engaging your mind a little would bring the memory. Any body may learn to ſpell by frequent reading and writing, obſerving how words are ſpelt, and remembring it."

Gentleman: "Then I ſhall never learn to ſpell I'm ſure; for I hate reading. But beſides if I could write true Engliſh, ſtill I ſhould write no letters."

Friend: "That muſt be all meer indolence; it can be nothing elce."

Gentleman: "O you are quite miſtaken. Still there's another reaſon worſe than all that."

Friend: "I am left to gueſs, indeed, but I ſee nothing to gueſs from; it muſt be that you would not take the pains: it can not be that you would not converſe with your friends."

Gentleman: "No, indeed, 'tis neither of them, much leſs the latter; for I ſhould love to converſe with my friends by letters extremely."

Friend: "I think 'tis one of the great pleaſures of life."

Gentleman: "I think ſo too, and I envy the pleaſure of it to others, becauſe I can not enjoy it my ſelf."

Friend: "I do not underſtand you. I don't doubt your friends write to you ſometimes. You can not but write again."

Gentleman: "They did write to me formerly, but they don't now. I have tyr'd them out with not anſwering them."

Friend: "'Tis all owing to the life of pleaſure you liv; you are too volatile. I kno' ſeverall gentlemen are juſt the ſame, tho' they can ſpell well enough, too; but they hate to write: they can't ſit ſtill long enough."

Gentleman: "Well, but that is not my caſe; but ſince you will have my dark ſide, you muſt; and to tell you the truth, I have another defect worſe than want of ſpelling: I don't underſtand things; I write no ſtile, I han't words. I am aſham'd to tell you what nonſence I write."

Friend: "You may have a meaner opinion of yourſelf than you ſhould have. You are too modeſt; you can not want words when you kno' the ſubſtance of what you would ſay."

Gentleman: "I tell you I can't expreſs things; I kno' what I mean; but is it not poſſible to underſtand myſelf, tho' I can't expreſs it in proper language?"

Friend: "Yes, I allow that if you were to write to *f.* 50. great perſons or upon publick affairs and things of great importance; but in ordinary converſation any thing will do. Familiar friends are wrote to in a familiar ſtile."

Gentleman: "Look you, I ought allways to write like my ſelf, that is, like what I ſhould be, not what I am. In ſhort, who ever I write to I ſhould not write like a fool."

Friend: "You can't write like a fool."

Gentleman: "I muſt write like what I am, and therefore I don't write at all."

Friend: "If you write like what you are, you muſt write like a gentleman."

Gentleman: "Yes, like an untaught, ignorant gentleman, that, as I told you, has been bred to nothing but idleneſs and pleaſure; is not that to be a f. . . . ?"

Friend: "Well, Sir, you may ſay what you pleaſe of your ſelf; but the world does not take you for what you are pleaſ'd to call your ſelf. Every body knows you to be a man of ſence."

Gentleman: "That is to ſay I am no idiot, not a drivler; but I kno' my weak part, tho' I conceal it as artfully as I can; but I tell you I am an ignorant, untaught, uneducated thing; and that I call a fool in a gentleman, tho' I may not be what you call a meer natural fool."

Friend: "The very ſence of your defficiency is a token of a vaſt capaſcity; how elce should you ſee it? Reall fools always think them ſelves wiſe enough."

Gentleman: "You take ſome pains to have me think my ſelf leſs a fool than I am; but that does not reach my caſe. Let me have what genius or what naturall capaſcities I will, I have the miſery of ſeeing myſelf a fool, thus far namely, that I have been taught nothing. You ſee I can't ſpell my own mother tongue. My father——"

Friend: "I believ, indeed, it lyes all there. Your father did not do his part: 'twas no fault of yours."

Gentleman: "My father did as other gentlemen do. He took care to leav his ſon a good eſtate, and that he thought was enough for a gentleman: my grandfather did the ſame by him, and my great[1]-grand-father the like, ſo that we have been a generation of——"

Friend: "Dear Sir, hold! let the dead be as the dead ſhould be, I mean, forgotten; they have done noble things for you other wayes. £3000 a year! is not that enough to make up all and to ſtop the mouth of all complaint?"

Gentleman: "No, it is not. What is an eſtate when the heir is a blockhead? A full purſe with an empty head; much money, no brains. I would freely now part my eſtate into two, and giv half of it to my brother

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[1] MS. *gr.*

Jack to have half his learning and ſence and knowlege of things in the room of it."

Friend: "I doubt not but he would come into it, if it were practicable."

Gentleman: "No, indeed, you wrong him there too. He values his educacion I aſſure you. His learning is not ſo ill beſtow'd on him; he would not be a fool for all my eſtate."

Friend: "But, Sir, you that have ſuch a ſence of the defect of your education and of the want of learning, might in my opinion retriev it very much, at leaſt ſo much as to ſupply the more ordinary uſes of it in writing and converſacion; you are not an old man!"

Gentleman: "Which way? How is it poſſible? Tho' I am not an old man, I am too old to go to ſchool."

Friend: "There are wayes to recover ſome part of what has been loſt with-out going to ſchool, and this puts me in mind of another thing that I thought was
f. 51. wanting in your new houſe, and[1] which, indeed, was what I meant when I ſaid at firſt there was ſome thing wanting."

Gentleman: "What was that, pray? a chappel? I kno' you are ſo devout. You would have God's houſe and the manſion houſe be all but one roof."

Friend: "It may be ſo; but you miſtake me. I kno' the pariſh church is but juſt at your elbow. I think you have a door out of your garden into the church yard."

Gentleman: "Nay, I have a door out of my very houſe into it. They won't have farr to carry me to my laſt lodgeing with my anceſtors. But you ſay you did not mean a chapell; pray, what was it then?"

Friend: "Why, it is a room for your library."

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[1] MS. *an.*

Gentleman: "O dear, my library! now you banter me to ſome purpoſe."

Friend: "Indeed, I did not deſign it ſo, and I hope you will not take it that way; but as it is what all gentlemen that ever I converſt with have, I did not doubt but you would have the ſame."

Gentleman: "Yes, my library deſerves a room on purpoſe. I think I'll ſhow it you by and by. Why, I have no books. What ſhould I do with them?"

Friend: "But your father Sir[1] Anthony had a library, I don't doubt."

Gentleman: "Yes, I'll giv you a catalogue of them. There was a great Bible, the regiſter of the houſe, where all the nativityes and the burials of the family were recorded for about a hundred years paſſ't, with three maſs books; for my grandfather was a Roman Catholic; and not to leav out the moſt valuable things: there was the old ballad of Chevy Chace ſet to very good muſic, with Robin Hood and ſome more of the antient heroes of that kind; an[2] old baſe viol, two fiddles, and a muſic book; there was alſo four or fiv folio Common Prayer Books, which uſed to lye in our great ſeat in the church, which I took away and put new ones in their room, and the old Book of Martyrs lyes in the church ſtill."

Friend: "But I hope you have added to the ſtock ſince."

Gentleman: "Not I! What ſhould I do with books? I never read any. There's a heap of old journals and news letters, a buſhell or two, I believ; thoſe we have every week for the parſon and I to talk over a little, while the doctor ſmokes his pipe."

Friend: "O but, Sir, no gentleman is without a library. 'Tis more in faſhion now than ever it was."

Gentleman: "I hate any thing that looks like a cheat upon the world. What ever I am, I can't be a hypocrite. What ſhould I do with books that never read half an hour in a year I tell you?"

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[1] MS. *fa S*r.

[2] *a* in MS.

Friend: "But, Sir, if a gentleman or any relation comes to your houſe to ſtay any time with you, 'tis an entertainment for them, and a gentleman ſhould not be without it, indeed; beſides 'tis a handſome ornament."

Gentleman: "Why, if any of my friends come to ſee me, I entertain them with a good table and a bottle of good champaign; and for their diverſion I ſhow them ſome ſport. We have allwayes ſome thing or other in ſeaſon in the field, either hunting or ſhooting, or ſetting or fiſhing. We never want game of one ſort or other, and if they are men of books and talk learnedly, that's out of my way; and I ſay to 'em, 'Come let's go viſit the vicar;' ſo away we go to the parſonage, and the Doctor has a good library, and, what is better than all his books, keeps a cup of good liquor, as he calls it, for ſecond rate drinking, and if we think of wine I ſend home for the butler, and he ſupplyes, ſo that the parſon has the credit of it."

Friend: "That's very kind to the Doctor, indeed."

Gentleman: "I ſhould not be a true patron if I ſtarv'd the incumbent."

Friend: "This is a good way I confeſs to divert your friends, but yet a gentleman of your figure ſhould not be without a library. Beſides you may have ſons to bring up. I fancy you will not be for bringing them up without learning, you have ſo much ſence of the want of it yourſelf." *f.* 51 *b.*

Gentleman: "No, indeed, I have but one boy yet tho' I may have more: but if I have twenty I'll make them all ſchollars if I can."

Friend: "You are very much in the right of it. The eſtate will not become them the leſs."

Gentleman: "I am reſolv'd in that. I'll be the laſt dunce of the race. We have had ignorant heires enough allready."

Friend: "Well, Sir, than 'tis but buying a parcell of books a few yeares before-hand; for your ſon will underſtand them, and delight in them too, perhaps, tho' you don't; and he may never kno', it may be, that his father did not neither."

Gentleman: "You are in the right there, indeed; well I am reſolv'd to get ſome books when I go up to London. I think I'll lay out the money in books that I intended to lay out in pictures; for tho' I underſtand neither of them, I can't be cheated ſo much in the books as I have been in the other."

Friend: "No, no. The price of books is generally prety well known. Any bookſeller will direct you in what will ſoit[1] your library."

The gentleman and his friend had more diſcourſe of this kind and of other things remote from my purpoſe, which I therefore omit; but the jeſt of all this is ſtill behind.

Some time after this viſit the gentleman being in London and going thro' S^{t} Paul Church Yard, he was put in mind of his former deſign for a library by the ſeverall bookſellers' ſhops which he ſaw there; ſo he walks gravely quite thro', looking earneſtly into every ſhop, but went into none of them. Paſſing into Ludgate Street he remembr'd that he had ſeen ſeverall of the ſame trade in Pater Noſter Row; ſo he turns up Ave Maria Lane, and comes to Pater Noſter Row. The firſt ſhop on his left hand was the famous Mr. Bateman's, a ſhop well known for old and ſcarſe books of learning and antiquity and in moſt languages; but looking into the ſhop and finding the books were generally old and duſty and lay in heaps on the counters and on the floore, out of all order, he did not like them by any means; ſo walks on and thro' the Row, and comes into the Church Yard again at the east end of it, next to Cheap-ſide.

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[1] I.e., *ſuit.*

At length ſeeing a large ſhop and well ſtor'd with books, he ſtopp'd and look'd earneſtly at them; and a grave, ſober-look'd, gentleman-like bookſeller being in the ſhop, he invited him in with the uſuall compliment, "Will you pleaſe to walk in, Sir, and ſee if I have any thing you have occaſion for?" The gentleman goes and ſitts down, takes up a book or two, and look'd on them; but, as he ſaid himſelf, he look'd more at the outſide than at the inſide, but lay'd them down again, and all this while ſaid nothing.

After ſome time and looking pretty much round him, he gets up, and takeing a turn or two in the ſhop he calls to the maſter of the ſhop. "Pray, Sir," ſayes he, "what ſhall I giv you for all the books upon that ſide of your ſhop." It ſeems the books look'd all fair and new, and were moſt of them or many of them guilded and letter'd on the back.

The book-ſeller was perfectly ſurpriſ'd at firſt, and could not tell what to make of it. He ſaw he look'd f. 52. like a gentleman, had two foot-men with him and a ſword, and he was loth to aſk him if they were for ſale. He did not look like a bookſeller, ſo that the man was at a loſs what to anſwer and ſtood mute for ſome time.

Upon this the gentleman aſks him again, and pointing out the ſhelves with his cane ſhow'd him in particular what books he deſign'd. "Sir," ſayes the bookſeller, "there are duplicates of many of them, and I ſuppoſe you would not have them unſorted ſo as they lye there."

It was an unhappy anſwer in the caſe, the gentleman not underſtanding what he meant by the word duplicate; but to put off[1] diſcourſing of that or any thing elce that might diſcover his ignorance, but obſerving the quantity, and that they would make a handſome ſhow in a library, he turns ſhort, and, as if he had been a little angry, he ſayes to the book-ſeller: "Look ye, Sir, it's no matter what they are or what I am to do with them; my queſtion is what you will take for them all together juſt as they ſtand."

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[1] *of* in MS.

The bookſeller replyes with the uttmoſt civillity, being you may be ſure mighty willing to take his money, that he aſk'd his pardon for what he had ſaid; if he pleaſ'd to giv him leav juſt to run them over and caſt them up, he would tell him the value of them, but that he could not well make an eſtimate of them at a lump.

"Well," ſayes the gentleman, "then I'll come again to-morrow morning."

"No, Sir," ſayes the bookſeller, "you need not giv your ſelf that trouble; if you pleaſe to ſit down and read any thing you like, I'll look them over enough for me in a quarter of an hour."

N.B. The bookſeller was loth to part with ſuch a cuſtomer, leaſt he ſhould not come again; otherwiſe he would have been glad to have had him gone and come again, that he might have ſhifted ſome other books into the place that he was very willing to put off with the reſt.

But, in a word, the gentleman ſits down very paciently, made as if he read a book, but chiefly eyed the book-ſeller to ſee how he mannag'd the taking account, which he, knowing moſt of the books by their out-ſides, was not long about, but came to his place behind the counter, and caſting up the value, "Sir," ſayes he, "the books will come to a great deal of money."

"Well," ſayes the gentleman, "if you are for frighting me away, I can go to another ſhop. Pray, how many thouſand pounds do they come to?"

"No, Sir," ſayes he, "not to thouſands neither; but they are the better half of my ſhop."

"Well, well," ſayes the gentleman. "I am no bookſeller, and ſo you may ſuppoſe I don't underſtand them. But I have[1] ſeen a bookſeller's ſhop before now."

N.B. This he ſaid to amuſe the book-ſeller, as he afterwards expreſſ't it, that he might not ſuppoſe him ſo ignorant as he really was, and that he might ſuppoſe he knew what he was doing, tho' in reallity he did not.

After ſome preamble and his preſſing the bookſeller to let him kno' what he demanded, the man very gravely anſwer'd him that they came to 346 pound.

"Come, come," ſayes the gentleman, "lay your hand upon your heart, and tell me the laſt price you will make and of which you will abate nothing."

"Sir," ſayes the bookſeller, "upon a ſuppoſition of ready money which at this time is a ſcarſe thing with tradeſmen, I'll abate you the odd ſixpounds."

"Look you, Sir," ſayes the gentleman, for he was willing to make ſtill a ſhow of underſtanding things, "let me ſee your catalogue of them."

"Alas! Sir," ſayes the bookſeller, "you can't read it, 'tis onely made up in our ſhop marks, which will be all Arabick to you. No man aliv can read them but our ſelves."

f. 53. "Come then," ſayes the gentleman, "I'll make ſhort work with you. As for credit and truſting, you ſhall not truſt me very long: I ſhall giv you ſatiſfaccion[2] upon that head quickly; but tell me upon your honeſty and the word of an honeſt bookſeller, Have you rated the books at a fair price, ſuch as they are[3] ordinarily ſold at."

"Yes, indeed, Sir, I have, and I will appeal to any one's knowlege of the trade."

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[1] *have* is omitted in MS.

[2] Abbreviated.

[3] In MS. *are* is omitted.

"Why then, Sir," ſayes the gentleman, "there's £330 for you," so he gave him bank notes £300 of the money and the reſt in gold, and abated him no more than ſixteen pounds of what he aſk'd.

The bookſeller hum'd and haw'd a little by way of grimace at abateing the ten pound, but after a very few words took his money. The books were taken down, pack'd up in caſes, and went down by ſea to Southampton,[1] and from thence by land to the gentleman's fine houſe; where a room haveing been appointed before hand for that purpoſe, they were all in a very few dayes ſet up in their order in preſſes made on purpoſe with glaſs doores before them, that they might appear in all the extraordinary forms of a library.

How the honeſt, well meaning gentleman was convinc't of the weakneſs of his mannagement, how aſham'd he was when it was diſcovr'd to him, and above all, with what modeſty and caution, to prevent any public refleccion, the diſcovery was made to him by his honeſt, ingenuous friend, the ſame who had prevented his being abuſed in the buying his pictures: all theſe for brevity ſake I omit as being not ſo directly to my preſent purpoſe, tho' otherwiſe they would make a very agreeable and diverting part in the ſtory.

I might fill up this whole work in examples of this kind, and make the undertaking be a meer ſatyr upon the Engliſh gentry, expoſing the miſtakes in their educacion by the conſequences in their behaviour and illuſtrating the propoſition which I am upon, namely, that our gentry,[2] I mean our born gentry,[2] as they call themſelves, are really ſcandalouſly ignorant and untaught, weak in parts, becauſe unaſiſted by early and prudent inſtruccion, and weak in conduct, becauſe not early warn'd and caution'd by the counſel of their guides to avoid the follys and errors of life, and weak in morals for want of being eſtabliſh'd early in good principles and brought to a regular life by the diſcipline and authority of their inſtructors.

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[1] MS. *S Hmpton.*

[2] *G.*

But it is not the deſign to expoſe even theſe miſtakes,[1] however ſcandalous and offenſiv, any farther than is abſolutely neceſſary to reform them and to bring the unhappy practice out of uſe among us; that the gentlemen of England may not have that alloy to their felicity to be the onely men in the world that are compleatly happy and compleatly miſerable at the ſame time, bleſt and unbleſt, empty and full, the glory and pride of their familyes, and yet the ſhame and reproach of their country and of themſelves too.

It is true, 'tis an evill that can not be remedy'd for the preſent generacion, I mean, for the heires in poſeſſion; the miſchief has taken root there too deep to be remov'd; there's no ſending the gentlemen to ſchool after they are marry'd, or giving them *tutors* when they have gott *tutoreſſes;* that would be a kind of begging them, as 'tis call'd, for ideotiſme, and bringing them back to a ſtate of infancy and pupillage, which will hardly be found practicable.

Beſides, a profeſſ'd contempt of knowlege and learning has ſo far engroſſ'd the minds of the people, I ſpeak of them as after their being, as it were, brought up in an indulg'd indolence from the cradle, that 'tis not to be attempted; it would be abſurd but to mencion it; you muſt firſt convince them that 'tis a defect, before you can hope to prevail on them to ſupplye it; and you will find that as hard to do as to perſwade a negro that a white woman can be a beauty. In-bred vice will never reliſh exotic virtue; if the gentleman can not firſt believ his ignorance is an infelicity, he will be very hardly brought to deſire a change and far leſs to endeavour it.

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[1] MS. *miſtake.*

But one would think it might not be ſo hard to perſwade the preſent age to reform this evil for their poſterity, and to prevail with them that their children may not curſe the memory of their fathers for not furniſhing their heads as well as their pockets, as too many of the gentlemen of this age have allready done by thoſe that went before them; and this may be part of the ſubject of the next chapter.

CAP. IV.

f. 55. *Of what may be the unhappy conſequences of this generall defect in the educacion of our gentry, and a rational propoſall for preventing thoſe conſequences.*

AS I ſaid in the concluſion of the laſt chapter, the evill is too far ſpread to be corrected in the preſent generation, ſo that, in ſhort, I doubt we muſt giv up this age (as the officers of Bedlam do in the caſe of obſtinate lunacy) for incurable.

Hence I ſhould have laid aſide all the ſatyr upon their conduct; for to what purpoſe ſhould we talk to people of what is paſſ't remedy, what is too far gone to be cur'd, and what is out of their power to help?

f. 53 b. But there is a particular reaſon in this caſe, which comes in the way of our good nature and makes it neceſſary to expoſe theſe things, how ever hard it may ſeem to run upon the perſons and whoever the cenſure may light upon; and this is the reall danger of the ſpreading of this contagion. Nothing is more naturall than that it ſhould go on from father to ſon, if ſome remedy be not applyed; and what remedy can be apply'd, if the pacients diſpiſe the phyſick? In a word, the practiſe, however ſcandalous, will never be cur'd, if the naked part of it be not expoſ'd, ſo that we are bound to ſhow the ſcandal of what is paſt, to prevent the miſchief of what is to come. Their eyes, therefore, muſt be open'd to the abſurdity of the fathers' conduct that it may be rectifyed by the children.

How ſhall we perſwade thoſe gentlemen not to bring *f.* 55. their ſons up in the ſame ignorance, which they think is ſo far from being a ſcandal, that 'tis the ornament of a gentleman? How ſhall we prevail with them to giv their eldeſt ſons any learning, while they think 'tis below their quallity? In ſhort, while they inſiſt that it is a degrading and diſhonour to their elder children to go to ſchool, to ſubmit to diſcipline and government, to be tyed up to the College orders and the regular living at the Univerſities; that books are the workmen's tools, and that the profeſſors of the ſublimeſt ſcience are but the mechannicks and workmen that make uſe of them: I ſay, while this madneſs reigns, what *f.* 53 *b.* can we pretend to do with them, and what hope can we entertain of the next age? except it be this, that the modern gentry, of whom I am yet to ſpeak, will in time ſhame them out of it and bring learning and good educacion ſo much in faſhion, that they muſt come into it at laſt or be voted infamous, be hiſſ't off of the ſtage of life, be diſſown'd for meer ignorance, and be no more rank't among the gentry: a happy time, which I have good reaſon to think is not very farr off.

It is true, the obſtinacy of the preſent age is a terrible obſtacle, and intimates that they will make a very great reſiſtance in defence of antient ignorance. The party is ſtrong, and the error, however groſs, is deep rooted. They ſeem not onely willing to liv and dye f . . . s, but to encorporate the privelege of continuing ſo among the Engliſh liberties, which they ſay they are bound to hand down to their poſterity ſacred and untouch't, as they reciev'd[1] them from their renowned, untaught, rough hewen anceſtors.

This

[1] MS. *rec'd*, as often.

This riveted averſion, then, to inſtruccion and to all ſorts of improvment being ſuch, and we ſeeming ſo tenacious of it that we will take up arms for it and to defend it even againſt common ſence and in ſpite of the importunityes of our reaſon: it ſeems neceſſary to combat the miſchief in its preſent ſtate of obſtinacy; if poſſible, to weaken its defences, and take ſome of its caſtles and fortificacions, that it may be the better dealt with in the open field and in a generall battle.

Nor will anything elce do it. How ſhall it be poſſible to make the next age wiſe men if their fathers reſolv they ſhould be fools? How ſhall the poſterity learn if the anceſtry won't ſend them to ſchool? 'Tis a neceſſity therefore that we ſhould begin here firſt. If *f.* 55. the begining is wrong, how can we hope to be right in the concluſion? In a word, while we can not cure the preſent age of this madneſs, is it likely, or indeed poſſible, we ſhould prevent the contagion ſpreading to the ages to come? Fools encreaſe folly, as dwarfs beget pigmies. The grievance I complain of is a kind of national lunacy; it ſpreads in the climate, and ſeems to be as peculiar to our iſland as the wool is to our ſheep. It grows up with us from father to ſon, has deſcended to us from our anceſtors from the Conqueſt; 'tis an hereditary ſtream of folly, and we are wedded to it juſt as the Ruſſes were to their beards and long petticoates, which when the late Czar oblig'd them to cut off, and dreſs and ſhave like all the other Chriſtian nacions, they call'd it an odious tyranny and begg'd the officers to ſhoot them rather than make them change the cuſtomes of their forefathers; or like the Iriſh that took arms againſt the Engliſh government (tyranny they call'd it alſo), becauſe they might not draw their horſes by the tayls till they murther'd the poor beaſts, but oblig'd them to uſe harneſs, in which the creatures could draw fiv times as much and with pleaſure, whereas the other was putting them to work in pain and torture.

It is in vain to complain that we injure the gentlemen of England, when we call it an obſtinacy equally abſurd with theſe. The event will beſt ſhow their reluctance at the change; and as for the abſurdity it ſelf, I think 'tis evident theirs is infinitely worſe: to eſpouſe ignorance on pretence of quallity, what can be like it in the world? No Ruſſian ſtupidity was ever more groſs in its nature or half ſo bad in its conſequence.

Beſides, it is entailing an eternal ſotiſm upon their race by the meer right of poſeſſion without giving their children leav to chooſe, as men that purchaſe eſtates ſettle them as they think fit. We complain of *f.* 53 *b.* tyranny and arbitrary government, if we find our ſelves oppreſſ'd by the ſoveraign, and preſently we talk of the naturall rights of ſubject; that our libertyes are our birth-right and that no government has a power to diſſinherit us; that we are ſubject to the Government we live under, where they govern according to law; but that the laws of God and Nature are ſuperior to all regal authority; that we are certainly entitul'd by an indefeizible right to the grants of original power and can not be diveſted of them without the greateſt injuſtice: and this is all very right, and all this argues much ſtronger in the caſe before us. 'Tis very hard that it ſhould be in the paternal monarchy what it is not in the national, and that the patriarchal authourity, which, by the way, has been ſome thouſands of yeares aboliſh'd, ſhould place an abſolute power in the head of the houſe to doom his ſubjects, that is his children, to be fools or wiſe men by his meer arbitrary will, and, what adds to the injuſtice, ſhould among the line of his poſterity determine arbitrarily, this ſhall be a ſchollar and this a blockhead,

head, or, to ſpeak it in groſſer terms, this ſhall be the wiſe man, and this a . . . . . gentleman.

f. 56. Beſides, here are two acts of violence comitted, which I muſt inſiſt are really not unjuſt onely, but an inſult upon Heaven it ſelf; and that cannot be found in the patriarchall power, which was an inſtitution imediately from Heaven and, therefore, could not be attended with ſuch a commiſſion.

1. Here's a violence upon the free will of the perſon; for the child has certainly a right of option, and the father has no juſt authourity to deprive him of it.

2. Here's a violence upon Nature, which I call an inſult on Heaven, and think it very well merits to be call'd ſo. Here is a kind of rape committed upon the genius of the child, impoſing a negativ upon him, dooming him to ignorance in ſpite of a capaſcity given for knowlege.

1. A perſonal violence and injuſtice to the child. If we put a boy out apprentice, nay, tho' it be a charity child, 'tis generally left to the lad to chooſe his trade; 'tis thought a peice[1] of juſtice due to him that his genius and inclination may be conſulted, becauſe 'tis ſuppoſed he will allwayes improv beſt in ſuch buſſineſs as ſuites with his capaſcities, and that Nature is allwayes the beſt judge for it ſelf.

Is the poor mechanick, who is born to be a drudge and by the imediate ſubjeccion to its benefactors might be thought bound to ſubmit to what they direct; I ſay, is this ſlave allowed the freedome of choice in his introduccion into the world, and not the gentleman? Should *he* chooſe whether he will be a cobler or a barber, a weaver or a butcher, and ſhould the heir of an eſtate, the young gentleman who is by entail to inherit thouſands, and perhaps thouſands by the year, ſhall he onely be tyed up, and that in the moſt eſſential part of life?

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[1] MS. *ps*, as often.

Shall he that may be ſuppoſ'd to ſhare the government with his ſoveraign, to repreſent his country in Parliament, to be cloth'd with commiſſions of the peace and, perhaps, of war, he that is by birthright a magiſtrate and a man of quallity, ſhould he alone not be allow'd to chooſe whether he ſhall be a man of ſence or a fool?

2. 'Tis a violence upon Nature, and indeed that way the hardſhip is in its kind unſufferable, as it is in its practice unjuſt. If the child has a genius, if Nature has furniſh'd him with a fund of ſence, with large capaſcityes, clear thought, a ſtrong memory, juſt images; if his ſoul is adapted to inſtruccion, receptible of due impreſſions, and, as it were, prepar'd for knowlege of the higheſt and beſt things; ſhall ſuch a head be deny'd teaching? ſhall all the parts and capaſcities of ſuch a ſoul be like a blank book ſeal'd up that it cannot be written upon, or like hard wax, that not being brought to the fire can reciev no impreſſion? I ſay the hardſhip is unſufferable; and if ever ſuch a child comes, by any kind turn of life, to attain to ſuch other improvments as may be attain'd without the help of ſchools, and after the ſeaſon of ſchool learning is, by the parents' neglect, paſſ't over, the windows of the ſoul come to be open'd, and the perſon ſees its own defect: how diſmall are the conſequences, how unhappy is the life! Unhappy did I call it? I ſhould rather have ſaid, how compleatly miſerable is ſuch a gentleman in the middle of all his hight of fortune!

How does he look back for the cauſe, and with paſſion enquire, How came I to be thus? What, every body taught but I? My brother made a ſchollar, ſuch a mean perſon's ſon well taught, well furniſh'd with learning, and I onely abandon'd! Nay, there's ſuch a poor farmer has bred his ſon at the Univerſity, and he is now to be a clergy-man, is allready a man of worth, and keeps company with the beſt gentlemen; and I am juſt now going to giv him ſuch or ſuch a living that is in my gift, becauſe he is a man of extraordinary merit and of a great character for his learing and ſobriety. None bred up fools but I! I that have the inheritance! I have the eſtate, indeed, but what elce have I? How unfiniſh'd, how unfurniſh't! How do I look among Gentleman! How ignorant, how empty, when other men much my inferiours come into my company! How handſomely do they diſcourſe! How do they reaſon and argue upon the niceſt things, and how acceptable in company of the men of learning; and how do I ſit and ſay nothing, becauſe I can ſay nothing to the purpoſe, and becauſe knowing my infirmity I am loth to expoſe my ſelf, and have juſt ſence enough to avoid ſaying any thing, that I may not talk like a fool!

And was my father the occaſion of all this? and that willfully, too, on pretence that I was the gentleman and muſt be the heir! What! did my father think learning below my quallity? Can that be below a gentleman that is an ornament to a prince? Is it *f.* 57. poſſible my father could be ſo ſtupid? Why, then, my father was a ——, was not fit to bring up a family, not fit to be truſted with the education of his own children, and ſhould have been begg'd for a ——. Here he falls out in a rage, rails at the memory of all his anceſtors, and at even the mother that bore him, and like Job in the agony of his affliccion, curſes the day in which he was born, and 'tis not ſeldome that he curſes father and mother, too, as I have many times ſeen when the paſſions, being raiſ'd by the reproach of it, have[1] carry'd him beyond bounds.

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[1] MS. *has.*

I cou'd giv abundance of examples of this very particular part which in the compaſs of my own knowlege and converſation I have met with ; but I'll ſumm *f.* 56 *b.* them up all in the long debate which I my ſelf had with a perſon of diſtinccion and of a very antient and noble family, whoſe caſe really was very moving and was the firſt and great occaſion of this whole work.

I had the honour frequently to converſe with him on other occaſions relateing to ſome of his family affaires, wherein he was attack'd by a parcell of thoſe worſt of thieves call'd projectors, who found abundance of chymerick ſchemes for the improvement, as they call'd it, of his eſtate, dreyning ſome lands, erecting manufactories[1] in ſome towns where his eſtate lay, on pretence of doing good to the country, employing the poor, and the like ; but which upon examinacion all appear'd to be meer projects to pick his pocket and draw him into things which he did not underſtand and which really had nothing in them and were onely calculated to draw him in and abuſe him.

Theſe projects I unravell'd for him, convinc't him, firſt, of their being impracticable in their nature, and then, put him in a method how to get rid of their importunityes by giving them in return ſuch a propoſall as they were not able to anſwer, and which, if comply'd with, deſtroy'd their whole deſign. The ſum of the matter was this :—

They propoſed (1) erecting manufactories[1] in ſuch a part of the country where his Lordſhipp's eſtate lay, and employing the people in ſuch a manner that ſhould not onely reliev them, but be a vaſt profit to his Lordſhipp for the advance of his money.

2. They propoſ'd dreining a large peice of land of near 1000 acres, which by reaſon of its flat, low ſituacion was generally under water ſix or ſeaven months

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[1] MS. *M̂.*

of the year, and, being by that means rendr'd cold and wet, was of little uſe and leſs value; but they propoſ'd to make it worth £500 a year.

To carry on this profitable undertaking they propoſ'd to his Lordſhipp advancing £5000 onely, and that the profits ſhould be all his own, allowing a very modeſt ſhare to the undertakers.

The propoſall was very ſpecious, and if it was probable, very well deſerv'd the riſque[1] of £5000; but as I foreſaw that the riſque of its being perform'd lay all upon my Lord, that their profit was certain and no certainty of its being practicable, I drew up the following propoſall to be made to them in return to their offer, and which I mencion here as a pattern for all honeſt gentlemen to get rid of projectors by, and on that account onely it is to my purpoſe in this work; viz.

That his Lordſhipp took very well their offer of improving his eſtate and doing good to the poor, both which were things very agreeable to him; that he was very ready to cloſe with their propoſall, onely with ſome ſmall variation, and that, as he conciev'd, greatly to their advantage; as follows:

1. That he was ready to advance the £5000 demanded, with this difference onely, (viz.) that his Lordſhipp thought it too ſmall a ſum for ſo great an undertaking, and therefore was willing to advance £10,000 with-out intereſt, that it might be carry'd on with the more credit and certainty of ſucceſs.

2. That as his Lordſhipp deſir'd none of the profitts, which they aſſur'd him would be ſo exceeding great, contenting himſelf with the having ſerv'd the country and helped the poor, ſo he was very willing they ſhould reciev the whole profits of the undertaking, and that they ſhould alſo have the lands when ſecur'd upon a long leaſe at £250 per annum rent,

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[1] MS. *risq3*.

being onely half of what they propoſ'd, onely deſiring that he ſhould be ſecur'd the repayment of the 10,000 at the end of ſo many yeares (I think it was 5 year).

This was ſo fair they could make no objection to it, and yet ſo clenching upon them that they whoſe deſigne was onely to get the money into their hands, that they were wholly diſſappointed and had no more to ſay; and ſo his Lordſhipp got rid of them.

As this is a digreſſion from our ſubject, I had not *f.* 54 *b.* mencion'd it but, *as I ſay above*, that I think it may be of uſe for a ſtanding direccion to men of quallity and eſtates, how to mannage themſelves when they are beſeig'd by projectors with their pickpocket ſchemes, as this noble perſon was and as gentlemen of eſtates often are.

It perfectly delivr'd this noble perſon from the ſnare of the propoſall it ſelf, which, tho' ſpecious in its pretence, was really no other than a fraud; and it delivr'd him alſo from the importunity of the people; and if gentlemen, who I ſay are generally ſurrounded with ſuch people, would take the ſame method, (viz.) giv up the main of the imaginary profits to the propoſers, onely inſiſting to have ſecurity for the money to be advanc'd, and for ſo much of the advantage as is reaſonable to be reſerv'd, they would ſoon ſee the projectors would forſake them. But I return to the caſe in hand.

This noble perſon I have mencion'd was born of an antient Engliſh family, and if it may be call'd ſo, had a noble eſtate alſo. He had likewiſe a good genius, fine thoughts, a bright, clear head, a great memory, and, in a word, was capable of anything; but, as he ſaid, in *f.* 57. ſpite of the nobillity of his birth, the greatneſs of his fortune and family, had the miſſortune by a totall neglect of his educacion to be robb'd in his youth of all the jewells and ornaments of his birth, as he juſtly call'd them.

There happen'd one day to be two very polite and well educated gentlemen at his Lordſhipp's table (for the diſcourſe begun while they were at dinner). They had talk'd with his Lordſhipp, while they were eating, in the uſuall family chat, and of indifferent things. But after the cloth was taken away, or they remov'd into another room, being both very good ſchollars, they fell into diſcourſes of more weight, and particularly upon ſome nice aſtronomical diſputes much in debate at that time in the world, about the appearing of comets, and upon the occaſion of Dr. Halley's having diſcovred a comet in our hemiſphere. The debate was, whether their mocions were in certain and fix'd orbits, or whether in the waſt of infinite ſpace they rang'd about as chance directed, till they were burn't out and exhauſted like a torch, which being waſted expires and is ſeen no more; or, laſtly, and which they both inclin'd to think, whether they are like the ſun conſtant and continued, and ſo may be expected to be viſible juſt in the ſame manner as they were before at the fixt periods of their ordinary revolutions, which they concluded might not, in ſome of them, be till ſeverall hundred yeares.

They had many fine obſervations of theſe and of other different kinds, as well upon this as other ſubjects, all finely interſperſ'd with their diſcourſe; and it was exceeding pleaſant and diverting to his Lordſhipp and the reſt of the company to hear them.

But in the middle of all the diſcourſe his Lordſhipp turn'd to me having the honour to ſit next him: "Now, what would I giv," ſayes he (aſide), and fetch'd a deep ſigh, "to have but one thouſandth part of the ſence, the knowlege, the wit, and learning of either of thoſe gentlemen!"

"My Lord," ſayes I, "as for the ſence and wit, your Lordſhipp, without any flattry, can not complain; but as to the learning and the improv'd knowlege which they have, 'tis true, they are very ingenious men, and they talk well, admirably well: but your Lordſhipp is plac'd abov all theſe things. You have no need of them." With that he pull'd me by the ſleev: "Come hither to me," ſayes he; ſo making a ſhort excuſe to the two gentlemen we walk'd into another room.

"What," ſayes my Lord with ſome warmth, "are you, Mr . . . . ,"—and call'd me by my name—"one of thoſe people that think gentlemen of quallity are above being taught? that learning is a diſſhonour to their dignity and their birth, and that they are to be brought up fools, onely becauſe they are rich and have eſtates or perhaps honours and dignityes?

"What the devil," added he, and began to be very hot, "muſt we be curſ'd with ignorance becauſe we are advanc'd in rank, be made fools becauſe we have mony? Muſt none be left untaught and uninſtructed but we that have eſtates? Are lords made for ſport to the world?" There he added ſome hot words, and a hearty curſe or two upon the horrid practiſe, as he call'd it, all which I leave out.

"No, my Lord," ſaid I, "you can't apply it to your ſelf in ſuch a ſence as that; ſome men of honour may have the miſſfortune of weak capaſcities in common with other people, but your Lordſhipp can not be plac'd among that number."

"What!" ſayes his Lordſhipp, continuing ſtill very warm, "you mean I am not a naturall fool; perhaps not! and when you have ſaid that, you have ſaid all. But I ſuppoſe my father tooke me for ſuch, or elce he would certainly have taught me better; he concluded to be ſure that I was born a blockhead, and that inſtruccion would make no impreſſion upon me, that I had no naturall powers and was not capable of learning any thing; or elce, ſurely, he would have had me bred up to ſome thing."

f. 58. "Your Lordſhipp is too ſevere upon your father," ſaid I, "he cou'd not think ſo of you."—"What could it be then?" ſaid he.

"Be, my Lord?" ſaid I, "why, your Lordſhipp knows what is the common notion of men of quallity to this hour; and I make no queſtion but his Lordſhipp your father and, perhaps, your grandfather alſo, were of the opinion as others were and are ſtill; that learning is of no uſe to a gentleman, that a noble man or a gentleman of a great fortune is born for enjoyment, born for his pleaſures; that they are plac'd above all theſe things, that the world is given them to range in with a full ſtream of all poſſible ſatiſfaction[1]; that they have nothing to do but eat the fat and drink the ſweet, to enjoy the fullneſs of all things, gratifying and indulging themſelves with the abundance[2] of delights; that all other things are ſubſervient to them; that nature itſelf is directed to flow in upon them with a full ſtream of felicity;—and they can want no more."

"You have made a fine brute of a lord, indeed," ſayes his Lordſhipp; "I think you have been drawing my picture to the life."

"How can your Lordſhipp entertain ſuch a thought," ſaid I; "there's no manner of ſimillitude, I hope, in the caſe."

"I don't ſay you intended it ſo," ſayes my Lord; "but, indeed, I think there is too much ſimillitude in the circumſtances[3]; the thing is extremely appoſite. You deſcribe my condicion moſt exactly. I am one of thoſe very happy, wretched things; you have painted me out to the life. I am happy, indeed, juſt in ſuch a manner; wondrous happy, indeed!"

"My Lord," ſaid I, "I think you are very happy."

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[1] Abbreviated.
[2] MS. *abund^a*.
[3] Abbreviation.

"Happy?" ſaid my Lord. "What, happy in being ignorant? a happy fool? I kno' no ſuch animal in all God Allmighty's[1] family."

"But, my Lord," ſaid I, "you can not be call'd ignorant, much leſs a fool; that's none of your character."

"Well, ſuppoſe for once you ſhould diſtinguiſh of fools," ſaid his Lordſhipp, "and that my father was miſtaken, that is, that I am not a natural, not an ideot, as I ſuppoſe he tooke me to be: yet I am an ignorant, an untaught, an uninformed creature. I call ſuch a man a fool, you may call him a lord, or what you will; the thing is the ſame."

"I think quite otherwiſe," ſaid I. "Your Lordſhip is ſo[2] far from being a naturall, that you can't call your ſelf unhappy on that account; you have a ſuperiour genius, a clear thought, a good judgment: you kno' the world, have a noble fortune, and may call your ſelf happy on a thouſand occaſions that I care not to repeat becauſe I would not ſeem to flatter you."

"And yet am with all an illiterate, uneducated thing, call me what you pleaſe. There's two gentlemen a talking within in the parlour like two angels: why I can't put in a word among them. It is all above my underſtanding. What was I, or what devil poſeſſ't my father, that I ſhould forfeit all inſtruccion? why was I forgot when theſe men were taught? Did my father think the dogs and the huntſmen were to teach me? or was I to be inform'd by revelacion and inſpiration becauſe I was a lord? I have reaſon to curſe the memory of theſe things, and the ill fate of having a lord to my father. Heaven! that I had been the ſon of a private man, ſo he had been but a man of ſence; then I had been taught like theſe gentlemen; but now I muſt be an ignorant creature, becauſe I was the ſon of an ignorant creature. I hate the ſon of a fool. I had rather have been the ſon of a whore."

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[1] MS. *a'mighty's.*

[2] *ſo* is struck out in MS.

"My Lord," ſaid I, "you are in a paſſion."

"It makes me mad," ſaid he, "to ſee the happyneſs of other men, and the miſery I am condemn'd to. They are men of ſence, and I am damn'd to non-ſence and ignorance."

"You may not have ſo much learning, my Lord," ſaid I, "as they; but you have your happyneſs of another kind; and 'tis abundantly made up to you."

"Yes," ſayes my Lord, "I am a very happy fool. Why, a ſtagg in my[1] park is juſt ſuch a noble, happy creature as I am. He lyes all the heat of the day ſtretch't out in the cover, as I do upon my couch; enjoys his full eaſe and the uttmoſt ſatiſfaccion[2]; he has graſs in abundance up to his eyes, there's wealth. He knows no ſuperior, there's honour and dignity. He is never diſturb'd either with dogs, or guns, or huntſmen, or horn. He is above all fear and knows no want; he diſpiſes all the creatures about him, even the keeper himſelf fears him and ſhuns the danger of his terrible creſt; he is proud, haughty, fierce, tyrannicall, and to ſum up all moſt compleatly ignorant, and therefore wonderfull happy; for if he knew his ſtation in life, the end of his preſent felicity, namely that he is fed up for my table and to grace my entertainment, and, *abov all*, the fate that attends him would be an end of all his pleaſure at once; if he knew that after all his eaſe, his ſloth, his pleaſure, when the ſeaſon comes about when he is fatt and, as we ſay, in good order, his fate will be that he is to be run down, and worry'd with dogs; that his death is to be the ſport of the family, and even of my huntſmen and ſervants; that we ſhall all ſound the French horn at his fall and tryumph in his deſtruccion;

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[1] Over *in my*, *Red Deer* is written.

[2] Abbreviation.

and that his fine ſpread horns are to grace my hall; and that, however innocent he may be, his head will be ſet up like a traytor's to be ſtar'd at by the world: did he know all this, what would become of all his enjoyment, his eaſe and pleaſure, his pride and haughtyneſs? On the contrary, he would pine himſelf to death. What would become of his happyneſs? —Ignorance is, indeed, his uttmoſt felicity, and ſo you ſeem to deſcribe myne too."

"All things in this world," ſaid I, "are happy or unhappy, great or little, of ſhort or long continuance, as they are taken in perſpective and ſeen in a diſtant or comparativ light. Your Lordſhipp is now made uneaſie by comparing yourſelf with theſe two gentlemen in reſpect to accquir'd advantages, learning, phylosophy, and the benefit of education, and in that you find they excell. Now you think yourſelf unhappy, but you do not bring all your other felicitys into the ballance and weigh them together; but, like the generall uſage of the world, you ſlight the ſuperior happyneſs which you enjoy, onely on account of ſome ſmaller thing which you may think you want."

"A pretty extenuating way you have got," ſaid my Lord. "What is all accquir'd knowlege, the ſtudy of the ſublimeſt wiſdome, the improvement and brightning the ſoul of a man? Are theſe your ſmaller things, and is the ſence of my own emptyneſs, which I ſee is reall and feel the deficiency of, is this onely thinking I want them? Come, come, my friend," ſayes his Lordſhipp, "talk ſence, and be plain and honeſt. You ſee thoſe gentlemen are men of learning; they have a vaſt fund of ſublime knowlege, fine thoughts, beautifull[1] expreſſion; their heads are fill'd with ſence; they have, in ſhort, all the accompliſhments both of nature and education; and what do I look like among them?"

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[1] MS. *beatifull.*

"They are men of learning," ſaid I, "that is plain, *f.* 59. my Lord; but you have a degree of knowlege, too, and that ſufficient, tho' not equall to ſome."

"Sufficient?" ſayes my Lord, and made a kind of ſtop. "What do you mean by ſufficient? No man has ſufficient knowlege while there is any thing left to kno'. You mean, perhaps, I have knowlege ſufficient for a lord?" And with that his Lordſhipp ſmil'd a little.

"No, my Lord, I cou'd not mean ſo. I beg your Lordſhipp," ſaid I, "not to think me rude; but you are pleaſ'd to fix the happyneſs of man in certain degree of knowlege; and if ſo, there is no man compleatly happy, unleſs he knows every thing that is to be known, or, at leaſt, if any man knows more than he."

"And ſo I do," ſayes my Lord, "with ſome few excepcions. A man ought never to ſit ſtill in the uttmoſt ſearch after perfect wiſdome any more than in the uttmoſt ſearch after perfeccion of vertue. Can any man be happy while he ſees another man be maſter of ſome thing in knowlege which he wants and ought to know?"

"Then no man on earth can be happy," ſaid I, "and ſo your Lordſhipp has brought it to a point that onely they are moſt happy that have the moſt compleat knowlege, and ſo all are unhappy in wanting ſomething."

"Well, and in ſome fence it is ſo," ſaid he.

"But then your Lordſhipp would do well," ſaid I, "to caſt up your enjoyment and ſee whether you have not enough to denominate your ſelf happy. There are few men on earth that want ſo little of any thing."

"You are gone from the point," ſayes my Lord; "I have ſome things you call enjoyments, and you may call them by as great names as you will. Make up the account with all the fine words you can, but words will never make up things: one is imaginary, the other reall. I tell you I want that one thing that is worth them all, and that I would now give them all up in exchange for; and that is learning and knowlege: theſe I want."

"Your[1] Lordſhipp," ſayes I, "values learning and knowlege very juſtly in ſaying they are equall to all worldly enjoyments, and ſo they are in their ſtacion; but then you under-rate the equivalents you have, and which have plac'd you out of the reach of other men and out of the want of any thing the world can give you; and to talk of an exchange is out of the way, becauſe, tho' learning joyn'd with honour and fortune would be a great ornament to it, yet ſeperated from it the rate of it would ſink in proporcion."

"You muſt giv them their due ſeperate value for all that, and I tell you that learning infinitely over-rates the honour. Learning will allways comand honour, but titles and eſtate can never accquir wiſdom. The rich fool may dye a fool and ſtill be rich and great, but the learned, poor, wiſe man may dye a lord, and many have done ſo; nay, more men in the world have riſen from low beginings to the hight of glory by the merit of virtue, learning, and great accquirements, than have riſen from meer quallity and hereditary honour without them."

"I am far, my Lord," ſaid I, "from endeavouring to under-rate the accompliſhments of the mind brightn'd by polite educacion; but, my Lord, I would not have your Lordſhipp depreciate the accompliſhments you have, becauſe you have not the uttmoſt attainment of learning, or of all that is or can be attain'd; you have more than many, and many ways enough for your ſtacion and dignity. They are gentlemen of learning, good ſchollars, and men of parts, and you are——"

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[1] This and the next paragraph are marked for deletion, but are not struck out.

"I am," ſaid my Lord haſtily and interrupting me, "I kno' very well what I am and what they are. They are men of ſence and learning, glorious parts, and wit, and nobly educated; and I am an animal with gay titles and high birth, a good eſtate, and taught nothing; *f.* 60. no learning, no acquir'd knowlege, brought up among fools and flatterers, taught to take the moſt early pleaſures inſtead of drinking in early wiſdome, taught to talk to dogs and horſes inſtead of men, and the brutal languages inſtead of Greek and Latin."

"You run too hard upon your ſelf," ſaid I, "your Lordſhipp has been taught well enough."

"Well enough for a lord," ſayes he, "I ſuppoſe you mean ſo. I tell you I have been taught nothing, and I kno' nothing compar'd to thoſe gentlemen. What a noble ſtudy is that of aſtronomy, the motions and revolucions of the heavenly bodyes, the great order of the ſuperior world! What is it all to me but one univerſall blank! I am left to meer nature, and to the groſſeſt and courſeſt concepcions of thoſe things in the world, and to make the wildeſt gueſſes at them, fit for wiſer men to laugh at, like the country-man that being aſk't by a learned man what he thought all the glorious face of the heavens which he ſaw in a clear ſtarlight night might be, anſwer'd, it was a great *blew blanket* all full of *ilett holes*, that it was all fire beyond it, and the fire ſhone upon us thro' thoſe holes, in ſome places bigger and ſome leſs, as the holes were larger and ſmaller; as we might ſee by that great hole bigger than all the reſt which was ſo wide that the fire came thro' in an extraordinary manner; and he knew it to be all fire, he ſaid, beyond, becauſe he could feel the very heat of it."

"That a country-man," ſaid I, "had a very great ſhare of thought I warrant him."

"Yes," ſaid my Lord, "and juſt ſuch may I or another be; but what is it all without learning, without inſtruccion? 'Twas all nature."

"Nature even uninſtructed," ſaid I, "will go a great way ſome times."

"Yes," ſaies my Lord; "but nature inſtructed is the perfeccion of wiſdome."

"It is an addition," ſaid I; "I never intended to crye down the advantages of learning, but to move your Lordſhipp not to look upon your ſelf ſo defectiv as to be unhappy for want of it, when you have ſo many things about you to make up your felicity."

"An addition do you call it," ſayes my Lord, "an addition? Yes, ignorance is a deprivation of learning, as darkness is a deprivacion of light."

"But Nature," ſaid I, "is the foundacion of knowlege, and there you abound. The foundacion is lay'd, and your Lordſhipp may build."

"Nature a foundacion? Yes, but if it is not dug 'tis no foundation; 'tis what we may call a found bottom to lay a foundacion on; but 'tis no foundacion, till it is dug and the bottom found and levell'd and lay'd out; in a word, Nature is darkneſs and Learning is light; Nature is a deep, Learning is the lead and line to found and ſearch out the depth by. Nature is the virgin bride, Learning is the bridegroom. Nature produces nothing till ſhe is marryed to Learning and got with child of Science. In a word, Nature is ignorance, and Learning is knowlege; and that's the ſtate of the caſe between theſe gentlemen and me."

"Your Lordſhipp," ſayes I, "does not talk like what you call yourſelf."

"Prethee," ſayes my[1] Lord, "hear them talk, and here me talk; and then judge. They kno' every thing, and I onely kno' that I kno' nothing; and I think you kno' as little as I; elce you wouldn't call birth and quallity an equivalent for wiſdome and learning, when at the ſame time, one is ſilver and the other is gold; one is the caſe and the other the jewell, or, if you will, one is body, the other ſoul."

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[1] MS. *may*.

"Well, my Lord; then ſtill you allow," ſaid I, "that tho' they have the gold, your Lordſhipp has the ſilver."

"Yes, yes, I have the ſilver, but the text ſayes of Wiſdome, *Her merchandize is better than ſilver*, Prov. In a word, you may ſee it plain enough: they have the brains, I have the ſcul; they the fullneſs, I the emptyneſs; they are the learned gentlemen, and I am f. 60 b. the fool lord: and that is the whole of the account; and I think I have reaſon enough to think my ſelf miſerable with all the equivalents. I am ſurpriz'd at your talk. Is there any equivalent for being a fool? When Nature has taken away the underſtanding, can ſhe giv an equivalent?"

"But, my Lord," ſaid I, "thank God, you are not in that claſs. You want no brains."

"I think otherwiſe," ſaies my Lord. "But ſuppoſe it was not ſo, and remove the caſe from a charge upon parent Nature to the juſter charge upon an unnaturall parent. Suppoſe Nature like a good parent had given the capaſcity, how unnatural are our reall parents when they withold or denye educacion and erudicion! Can they giv an equivalent? What is an eſtate to the entail of wiſdome and knowlege? Is that your equivalent you talk'd off?"

"Thouſands of ſtarving ſchollars, my Lord, and hungry phyloſophers would think it ſo," ſaid I, "and be very glad of the exchange."

"As to being a hungry phyloſopher and a ſtarving ſchollar, I do not underſtand it. If I was the ſchollar or the phyloſopher, I think I could never ſtarv or want."

"But we find many men, my Lord," ſaid I, "in extreme want that are men of learning."

"Then," ſaies my Lord, "they muſt have very great defects ſome other way. I never giv any thing to a ſtarving ſchollar. Sometimes I meet with a poor, ſhabby, ragged fellow without a pair of ſhoes begging in Latine; and the other day one came to my door that confounded us all, tho' I had my chaplain and two phyſitians in the houſe, for he beg'd in Greek. I never like them."

"I hope your Lordſhipp reliev'd him, for he muſt be ſomething extraordinary."

"It was a long time before we could make any thing of him or kno' what language he ſpoke; we were fain to ſend for M^r^ . . . . , the Maſter of our Free School, and he underſtood him preſently, and told us he ſpoke very good Greek and as good Latin."

"What could be the meaning of his poverty?" ſaid I.

"Why, the meaning," ſaid my Lord, "juſt the ſame as I allwayes take ſuch to be. We found him out preſently; and as the ſchool-maſter ſaid at firſt that he belev'd he was ſome worthleſs, indolent, idle fellow, ſo we ſoon found that his darling vice was that he was an incorrigible drunkard and withall an intollerable lyar."

"I hope, my Lord," ſaid I, "you help'd the poor fellow however."

"Yes," ſaies my Lord, "I did ſomething for him; and had he been good for anything, I would have took him in and maintain'd him handſomely. It came into my head immediately that I might learn ſomething of him."

"It was pity ſo much learning ſhould be ſo ill beſtow'd," ſaid I.

"I never reliev'd any of thoſe fellows but I repented it: 'tis all thrown away; they would not be poor if they were not incorrigibly idle or incorrigibly wicked; and the more learning they have, the worſe. But what's all this to the caſe?" ſaid my Lord.

"It was brought in," ſaid I, "to make it out that many would giv their learning up for an eſtate, becauſe your Lordſhipp objected againſt its being an equivalent for an eſtate, honour, titles, and the goods of Fortune."

"That is," ſaid my Lord, "becauſe, tho' they may have a ſtock of ſchool learning, they have not made a right judgement of the value of it, and what is more, have not a juſt ſence of the advantages of it. Thoſe are a ſort of good-for-nothing people, who you call meer ſchollars."

I added, "And perhaps are pinch'd with their preſent diſtreſies, poverty, and even to want of bread."

"Yes," ſaies my Lord very readily, "ſo Eſau ſold his *f.* 61. birthright, being, as the text ſayes, periſhing for hunger."

"No body knows the diſtreſſes of ſuch," added I, "but thoſe that feel it, as in the caſe your Lordſhipp named juſt now; for as Eſau ſaid, What good ſhall this primogeniture do me if I am ſtarv'd? what is all their Latin and Greek to them if they periſh for want of bread?"

My Lord reply'd preſently: "It was allways charg'd as a crime upon Eſau, and he was call'd a prophane perſon for it; I kno' not what to ſay, indeed," added his Lordſhipp, "as to ſtarving; but elce I would never ſell my learning; if I had the knowlege of letters and languages, books and antiquity, I would never ſell them whatever I wanted; but, in ſhort, if I had learning I would never want, I could not."

"But your learning," ſaid I, "could not giv you the dignity, my Lord, and the honours you now enjoy; it could not giv you the primogeniture of a noble houſe, and make you be the eldeſt and chief of your family."

"I don't kno' that," ſayes my Lord; "learning and true merit has raiſ'd many a family from nothing, that is, from an obſcure birth, to the hight of honour and even to nobillity itſelf."

"But what is become of birth and blood then," ſaid I, "and the antiquity of a family which ſome people lay ſo great a ſtreſs upon, that they think there is nothing great or honourable in the world without it?"

"Thoſe people," ſayes my Lord very gravely, "value them ſelves upon what they do not underſtand. Nobillity is founded in virtue. I ſhould in ſuch a caſe, perhaps, be the firſt of my race, the beginner of an antient family; for time would make it antient, and all families began ſome where. Better be the firſt of a great young family, and found it in vertue and on a ſtock of true merit, than the laſt of a great old family and ſink it by my own vice and degeneracy. Pray, which is the moſt to be valued?

"Don't we reckon up ſuch or ſuch an antient worthy recorded for a man of merit? I ſay, don't we honour the memory of him as the father of ſuch or ſuch a race, the founder of the family, the firſt of the blood? Such, then, I would be in the front of a new race, and think my ſelf as much honour'd as in humane affairs it was poſſible for any man to be."

"My Lord," ſaid I, "you have a different opinion of theſe things from moſt of the gentlemen that I converſe with; they lay the main ſtreſs of their families upon the antiquity of them, their antient race, the blood of the Talbots, the Veres, the Howards, the Darcyes, the Haſtings, and the like."

"Well," ſaid my Lord, "and I like it very well, provided I am ſomething that is equall to my anceſtors, and that by my merit I can maintain the honour of the houſe; that I ſhow my ſelf worthy of my birth, and that I do not diſhonour my titles; am not a ſcandal to an antient family; but if I am a degenerate branch of an antient ſtem, a diſgrace to the root of the family, what then ?"

"But," ſaid I, "that is an uncertain way of ſtating the point ; for, my Lord, what ſhall we call honouring or diſhonouring our family?"

"I'll tell you what I call it," ſays my Lord. "Diſhonouring them is when I behave in ſuch a manner as that my great anceſtor 100 or perhaps 500 year ago, being himſelf a man of honour and virtue, would be aſham'd to own me for one of his name, not think me worthy of calling me a kinſman of his blood. On the other hand honouring it is when by my own proper merit and by ſome conſpicuous virtue I add to the luſtre of my family and to the roll of honrable anceſtors, raiſing a juſt fame and acquiring a character, ſhining in acts of vertue and goodneſs, ſuch as good men will value and all wiſe men approve, and in which I ſtrive to excell. This I call being worthy of my birth."

"I grant all this, my Lord," ſaid I, "but at this rate no man can rightly value himſelf upon his family and birth but he that by ſome honourable accion does *f.* 62. ſomething to add to the illuſtrious race, ſomething that out-does all of his line and out-ſhines thoſe that have gone before him. This may be hard for a man to do."

"Well," ſaid my Lord, "and that is the caſe in ſome degree : for as every age adds to the roll of the family, ſo every branch ought to add ſome thing to the hiſtory of the race, ſome thing that may do it honour, ſome thing that may enlarge its hiſtory, ſome thing that may read well in the annalls of the family and may ſtand for an example worth the imitacion of poſterity. I do not ſay it muſt be critically more in degree than all that went before : for tho' 'tis certain that every truly great ſoul ſtrives to excell, yet every man has not equall opportunity: but there ought to be ſomething bright in every character."

"But who then diſſhonour[1] their anceſtors?" ſaid I, "and how muſt we diſtinguiſh here? for the merit will lye one way or other."

"I anſwer'd that part," ſaid my Lord, "at the firſt appearance of the queſtion; but I'll explain it a little, as my own caſe ſerves to explain it; and it is thus, when the heir—as I may be now—the head of the race, or the chief, is uneducated, an uncultivated brain, a thoughtleſs, indolent, uncapable wretch, taught nothing and bred to nothing, and conſequently knows nothing."

I return'd warmly as if offended a little: "You run too hard upon your ſelf, my Lord; you can not raiſe ſuch a blaſt upon your character without injuſtice to your ſelf and to your whole family. You are not an ignorant perſon, a fool, one that knows nothing, and all thoſe things. You would be very angry if another man ſhould call you ſo."

My Lord replyed merrily, "Don't be angry with me and for me both together. I underſtand very well what you mean. Perhaps I ſhould not like it if another man told me ſo, becauſe he has not the ſame right to ſay it of me as I have to ſay it of my ſelf; but I hardly kno' how I could reaſonably reſent it neither, when I could not denye the fact. I could not tell him he ly'd; for my conſcience would tell me 'twas every word true. I might tell him he was a ſaucy,[2] rude, and unmannerly fellow and corect him for his ill language, but could not call him a lying fellow, becauſe the fact is all true."

I anſwer'd, "No, my Lord, with your pardon, it is not all true neither; it is not litterally fact. You may be ignorant comparitively, and kno' nothing comparitivly,

[1] *Diſſhonours* in MS. [2] MS. *ſucy*.

tivly, and who is not ſo? Where is the man that no body goes beyond?"

"Come, come," replyes me Lord, "don't make me any thing but what I am. The caſe is plain, I am nothing that I ought to have been. I have had no education ſuitable to what I was to be or to what I might have been. My father did me no juſtice; my mother brought me up among the peticoates and in the nurſery, till, if I had been ſent to ſchool, I ſhould have been thro' my grammar. My tutor cheated me; and they cheated my father that propoſ'd him for a tutor. The man had learning, but he was a man of pleaſure himſelf and gratifyed himſelf and me, too, in all the little excurſions of a youth, when he ſhould have kept me ſtrictly to books and languages; and thus the moſt valuable houres of life were loſt, and, inſtead of being finiſh'd for the college and for travell, I came out into the world a finiſh'd blockhead, fit for nothing; and when I came to the eſtate, which was too ſoon too, that entirely ruin'd me; I ought indeed to have been ſent to ſchool then, to be made fit to enjoy it."

I found by this diſcourſe we ſhould run back into the ſame exclamacions where his Lordſhipp began, and not being able to denye the juſtice of his reflexions I endeavour'd to turn his thoughts off to ſome other ſubject, and put his Lordſhipp in mind that the two gentlemen in the parlour would think us long. Upon that he ſtop't; but before we went in, my Lord ſaid, "I muſt have ſome further diſcourſe with you upon this ſubject; for I am reſolv'd," added he, "not to liv and dye a blockhead all my dayes. Is there nothing to be learn't after a man is 40 year old?"

I told him it was a queſtion of importance, and I deſir'd him to explain himſelf a little upon it that I might giv him a fuller anſwer.

He anſwer'd, "I will do ſo by and by, but we'll go in to ſee our friends for the preſent, leaſt they ſhould take it ill." So this agreeable converſation ended. *f.* 63.

I return to the title of this chapter, namely, What are the[1] conſequences of this neglect? And without morallizing in a formall way upon that long and yet undecided queſtion whether want of education is not opening the door to a life of vice and extravagance and whether the learned or the unlearned world are the wickedeſt; I ſay, without entring upon this, the more evedent and undeny'd conſequence of it, and what is point blank to the ſubject before me, is this:

That as the neglect of the laſt age has entail'd ignorance upon the preſent, ſo the ignorance of the preſent age, if not wiſely conſidred of, will not fail to bring on the like neglect for the next: and this the ground plat, the ichnography of my whole undertaking.

Our fathers, bred up in family pleaſure and hereditary indolence, plac'd the whole weight of their glory upon the long pedegree of their houſes, the race of great men who bore the name before them, whoſe titles, honours and wealth they poſeſt, no matter whether their own merit legitimates the claim, or no; upon this imaginary honour they elate their minds to the uttmoſt extravagance, value themſelves as exalted in birth above the reſt of the world, and look down upon all mankind as plac'd below them juſt within the reach of their foot and born to be ſpurn'd at and kick't by the gentry as meer foot-balls for their exerciſe and diverſion.

This hereditary pride deſcends as naturally from father to ſon as the eſtate, and as if the entail of it was as certain and unalienable, 'tis infuſ'd early into the heads of the young heirs before the beſt of their inſtruccion, and they learn to kno' they are gentlemen long before they learn that they are men, learn the leſſon of family pride before their A B C, and to kno' they are above being corrected at ſchool, before they are big enough to go thither.

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[1] *the* omitted in MS.

"Dam it, Madam," ſaid a young heir to his mother, "I have £10,000 a year eſtate, and I won't be contradicted." The young gentleman was not abov 9 year old or thereabouts, and had been flatter'd by the nurſes and wenches that waited on him, and told what he was to be too ſoon, as well as with too little diſcretion; and this was the product of it. I know the family very well.

This door being open'd and early vice thus introduc'd with the mother's milk, no wonder 'tis riveted in the mind too faſt for education it ſelf, if that moſt probable remedy were apply'd to remove it. But that being likewiſe neglected and even deſpiſ'd from the ſame unhappy principle that 'tis diſhonourable and below the quallity of the child, as above: all ſubſequent applications are render'd[1] perfectly uſeleſs, and the miſerable gentleman, miracle excepted, is damn'd to ignorance and repentance.

And what do I ſpeak of repentance in a caſe where the opinion of its being no defect, but an ornament, ſhuts the door againſt all regret at the thing its ſelf! Men never repent of any thing which they do not think was wrong: if it is no miſtake, how can they repent of it? beſides, how can they repent of it and glory in it at the ſame time?

This brings me to the great and moſt fatal conſequence of all, and what, as I have ſaid above, this work is calculated on purpoſe to expoſe, viz., this notion of its being no error to omit the educacion of their eldeſt ſons, as it was the reaſon of bringing up the preſent generation of gentlemen in ignorance and indolence without learning, without erudition, without books, empty of all accquir'd knowlege, and without a taſt of the bleſſing of it. It infallibly preſerves the entail, and hands on the obſtinate ignorance to the next age, and ſo on in æternum.

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[1] MS. *rend^d*.

How ſhould an uninſtructed generacion inform their poſterity? By what ſtrange inſpiration from abov ſhould the next age be lovers of learning, applye themſelves to ſtudy, read books, drink in knowlege, and learn wiſdome, when their inſtructors have it not to furniſh them? Ignorance can not deviate into ſence, or dullneſs into wit; 'tis the lov of knowlege in parents or the ſence of their own difficiency[1] that moves them to inſtruct their children. Now thoſe people are ſo far from believing that their ignorance is a defect, that *f.* 64. they glory in it, value themſelves upon it; and I once heard a gentleman of a good eſtate ſay that to be above all accquirements was the uttmoſt accompliſhment of a man of fortune; that he ought to follow Nature in all the plain roads of her meer inſtitucions; that, for a gentleman, to go out of her way was but like a man of wealth amaſſing treaſure, whereas he can be no richer, let his additionall thouſands be as many as they will.

This wretched phyloſophy however eſpouſ'd ſerves, in my opinion, for no manner of uſe but to crowd the world with fools of fortune; and indeed it is to this extraordinary logic that we owe the generall ſtupidity of the age, which is the ſubject of this preſent complaint.

However, were this all, I ſhould ſay no more than that it is ſo, and tell you the occaſion of it; but that it ſhould ſtill go on, that in this enlightn'd age, when polite learning is ſo much in vogue, and ſo many, how juſtly I will not enquire here, pretend to it; that it ſhould go on, I ſay, in ſpite of example, and entail that ſame ignorance and obſtinacy upon the next age: this is unſufferable.

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[1] MS. *defiency.*

One would think, if it was nothing elce but that learning is a little more in faſhion than it uſ'd to be, education ſhould be ſo too. But it muſt be confeſſ't that fact is uncertain, at leaſt to me it is ſo; there is indeed a kind of a noiſe about polite wit, and men being maſters of ſcience and of learning, and raiſing their fortunes by their being ſo.

That ſome gentlemen by their parts and underſtanding, whether natural or accquir'd, have raiſ'd their fortunes in this age of craft and corrupcion, may be true; but I denye that this is a teſtimoney of the men of fortune and the heads of families being any wiſer and farther taught in generall than their anceſtors, or any better learned. 'Tis rather the contrary; for how ſhould the beggarly and mercenary part of mankind accquire wealth and get eſtates by their wit and cunning, if the men of eſtates, the antient families, and great fortunes, were not the dupes who are impoſ'd upon and mannag'd, as we ſee 'tis under the other that this mannagement prevails? And were the nobility and gentry of this kingdom[1] univerſally men of learning and parts, as they are of fortune, high birth, and honour, they would never be influenced, led, overrul'd, bought, or ſold by any ſet of ſtates-men or polititians in the world.

This is but a hint; let them take the coat who fit the meaſure of it. 'Tis thus far to my purpoſe: if the younger brothers are to liv by their witts, let them do ſo honeſtly and make the beſt of it, but let the elder brothers have the ſame ſhare of learning and witt given them with their eſtates as the other have to raiſe eſtates by. I believ the firſt would keep their eſtates better than they do, and the laſt find it leſs eaſie to riſe by bribery and corrupcion.

The wretched defeccion in ſome ages we have gone through, the bying and ſelling their country, their libertyes and priveleges in Popiſh dayes and party-making dayes, what has it been owing to but the mercenary ſpirit among the poorer gentry[1] and the ſtupidity and ignorance of the rich?

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[1] MS. *K*——.

There could be no danger of the polititians breaking in upon the libertyes and eſtabliſh'd priveleges of this free nation, if the nobillity and gentry of Britain, who are the bulwark of thoſe libertyes, were, as they might all be, men of learning and men of wealth.

Want of learning makes them eaſie, indolent, manageable, thoughtleſs, and extravagant. Want of learning makes them incapable, breaks their œconomy, and expoſes them to a thoughtleſs luxury; the conſequence of which is reduccion of eſtates, neceſſitous circumſtances,[2] and even beggary; and the naturall conſequence of that is being ſubject to all manner of currupcion, eaſily purchaſ'd for parties and faccion, and by penſions and places to betray themſelves and their country, and giv up all to the crafts-men of the Court.

It is the felicity of the preſent age that we liv *f.* 64 *b* under a Government that deſires no frauds, that has no corrupt views, no tyrannick deſigns to carry on, no deſtructiv ends to anſwer; if it were otherwiſe, the miſerable indolence and ignorance which we now ſee our nativ country labour under, and ſome of our gentlemen of the beſt, moſt noble and antient familyes abound in, nay, be vain of, and affect a kind of ſatiſfaccion[2] in, would giv us but a mellancholly proſpect for the ſafety of our poſterity.

From hence I inſiſt that it is of the uttmoſt conſequence, if poſſible, to put a ſtop to the manner of bringing up our gentry in ſtupidity and ignorance, with out the advantages of education and without poliſhing the parts and capaſcities Nature may have given them, that the next age, what ever this is, may be furniſh'd with ſome helps, ſome aid and aſſiſtance from their own ſence to ſee into the depths of thoſe ſons of Hell who would debauch and corrupt them.

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[1] MS. *G....y.*

[2] Abbreviated in MS.

To inforce this part of my reaſoning, I alſo inſiſt upon the following obſervations as maxims in nature, which we may ſee confirm'd in practiſe every day.

1. That want of learning and polite education in the nobillity and gentry of England makes them be neglected and, as it were, lay'd aſide in the mannagement of public affairs, when knaves and polititians happen to be in truſt, mercenaryes and ſcrew'd up engins being made uſe of in their room.

2. It makes them eaſie and blind, and not able to ſee themſelves ſlighted and neglected, as they would otherwiſe do, and conſequently to reſent it.

3. It makes their reſentment of leſs value where it is met with, the number of thoſe that have the ſence to ſee and reſent being ſo ſmall, and their intreſt conſequently ſmall in proporcion. Let any man look back to the figure the barons of England made in the reigns of King John, Henry III., and other princes of thoſe times, and compare them with the ages of a few reigns paſſ't, and let them tell us if the Engliſh gentry were to be mannag'd by Prime Miniſters and polititians then, as they have been ſince, and what was the end of ſuch favourites who ventur'd to make the attempt.

4. The weakneſs of the parts, the defect of the underſtanding, and the want of erudition, which is ſo much the faſhion among our gentry has been the true, if not the chief, reaſon of their preſent poverty and bad circumſtances,[1] leſſening their eſtates and ruining their fortunes.

5. Their want of learning being the cauſe of their

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[1] Abbreviated in MS.

luxury and extravagance, and that luxury reducing them to neceſſitous circumſtances,[1] thoſe neceſſities bring[2] them into a readyneſs of being corrupted, brib'd, and drawn in by partyes to eſpouſe thoſe intreſts for money which at other times they would abhorr, and which are ruinous to their country's liberties and to their poſterity.

6. Ignorance is an enemy to temperance, to frugallity, to honeſty, and to the practiſe of all morall vertues. In a word, for want of learning a man of quallity, however great, noble, rich, powerfull in his intreſt and his eſtate, is render'd unquallify'd for the ſervice either of himſelf, his family, or his country.

7. Ignorance expoſes the gentlemen not onely to the ribaldry and jeſt of the Courts and of the polititians, but makes tools of them, makes them engines and inſtruments for the uſe of the mannagers on all occaſions, and even in their worſt deſigns upon the libertyes of their country as above.

N.B. Innumerable examples of this might be given *f.* 65. in the times before the Revolution. What has been ſince we have no room to ſpeak of at this time of day.

It would be endleſs to undertake a generall colleccion of all the conſequences of this want of education among the gentlemen of England; and yet if nothing ſhould be ſaid to it, how ſhall we bring the gentlemen now labouring under the miſſortune of it to a temper capable of rectifying the error?

I ſhall add, therefore, two or three things, which I think are very material, and which will certainly weigh with the gentry[3] even of this age, if they pleaſe to conſider them, and but meaſure themſelves upon the ſquare with ſuch other men as Heaven has plac'd upon a level with them, I mean other gentlemen of quallity and fortune as they are, and who differ from them in theſe particulars onely.

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[1] Abbreviation in MS. [2] MS. *bings.* [3] *G.*

1.[1] The want of learning and educacion places them below even their inferiours, and renders them deſpicable every where, even at home and among their very ſervants.

2. If theſe uneducated gentlemen ſhould think of comeing up to London, appearing at Court, or looking out for buſſineſs (as that is called), whether by choice or upon any family diſſaſter, as the beſt may be ſubject to ſuch things: if they have no letters, no learning, they can never recomend themſelves to any thing.

3. If they ſhould, by intreſt and favour, be able to obtain any thing, of what uſe can it be to them? They can execute no office ſuitable to their quallity; they can fill up no poſt of honour either for the Government or for their private concern. The favourite may giv them a compliment; but how ſhall ſuch a perſon anſwer it? Can he go thro' the office of a Secretary[2] of State or a Secretary[3] of War, a paymaſter of the Navy or Army, a Commiſſioner of Trade[4] and Plantacions, or the like; or to come lower, to a Commiſſioner of the Navy, the Exciſe, or the Cuſtomes? All theſe muſt be men of letters and men of figures. They muſt be men of learning and languages; or what are they fit for? The country gentleman can do nothing among them. It is one of the moſt honourable parts of a perſon of quallitye's character that he is fitted for the ſervice of his country, fit to be a Privy Counſellor, a Secretary[3] of State, a Lord[5] of Trade, or any other place in the adminiſtration or the houſehold; and what figure muſt ſuch a gentleman make in any of theſe publick poſts that has no educacion, no litterature, no knowlege of languages, of hiſtory, or of the world!

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[1] No number in MS.

[2] MS. *Secret.*

[3] MS. *Sec.*

[4] MS. *T.*

[5] MS. *L^d.*

It is true, I am to be anſwer'd, as above, in a way of rallery, that the gentlemen we are ſpeaking of are above all theſe things: they ſcorn poſts and places, thoſe civil badges of human drudgery; the private ſtacion is the poſt of honour, and an hereditary poſeſſion the beſt penſion; that they are kings of their own and governors of themſelves; that we may ſee all the Miniſters of State and favourites of allmoſt every reign making their court to them, inviting them up, and careſſing them upon every occaſion, deſiring to make uſe of their intreſt, and if they find it practicable, wheedling with them to ſide in with their Party.

If by their ſway in the country and their intreſt in the towns, of which ſometimes they have ſeverall that are their own, they are, in ſpite of bribery and corrupcion, choſen members of Parliament, what tricks, what artifice, are uſed to bring them in-to buſſineſs, as 'tis modeſtly call'd! If they happen to be above 'em, out of the reach of art, and that neither money or flattery or honours and titles will make any impreſſion, how are they reckon'd dangerous, and how are they fenc'd againſt as men of importance, and how are the courtiers in the uttmoſt concern, leaſt ſuch men as theſe ſhould make themſelves known, get a Party in the Houſe, and oppoſe the mannagers in their great affaires of . . . . , &c.! . . . . .

But bring all this to the caſe in hand. It is true that this is often ſo where the country gentleman is a leading man, either in the place where he dwells, or in the houſe, and when they find him capable of great things. But then, who are the men, what are the gentry that are thus rendred conſiderable? that are *f.* 66. the terror of Court partyes and the envy of the politicians? what character do they bear, and what foot do they ſtand upon in the country where they live?

Giv me leav to ſay theſe are not the ignorant, the illiterate, the weak headed, uneducated gentlemen we are talking of, but they are, generally ſpeaking, men of ſence, men of learning, that kno' the world, that underſtand the intreſts of their country, and if they appear in public, giv the ſtates-men room to take umbrage at their growing capaſcities.

They are not the men of pleaſure, bred up to the dogs and the game, that wallow in their wealth and kno' nothing but to liv at home and enjoy that ſurfeit every day with their pleaſures, and are onely ſick for want of variety; who rolling in a kind of naturall indolence are unactiv for meer want of ſome thing to do, who riſe in the morning to go to bed at night, and whoſe whole hiſtory is ſum'd up in that diſtich:

They're born, they liv, they laugh, they know not why;
They ſleep, eat, drink, get heirs, grow fat, and dye.

Theſe are the country gentlemen indeed, but theſe are not the men I ſpeak of; theſe are not the formidable, dangerous things that, as King Charles[1] II. ſaid of the Country Party, were men of importance and very conſiderable in the Common Wealth, for they could make kings think and keep courtiers honeſt.

Theſe are not the leading men, that carry a party with them where e're they go, whoſe vote is a noun of multitude, and, as was ſaid of Sir . . . . . H., he was call'd No. 50 when ever they mencioned him in cover, that is when they talk'd of him, but did not think fit to name him; the meaning was that when ever he voted he had 50 more that follow'd him, let him take which way he wou'd.

No! No! Thoſe gentlemen I ſpeak of are not as the man call'd No. 50, but as the 50 that blindly voted after him, and as he voted right or wr . . g.

Fortunate ignorance! that ſo often fall in with honeſt leaders; but how unhappy is it for their country, when theſe gentlemen are miſſled, as is but too poſſible and has been too frequent!

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[1] MS. *Cha.*

How miſerable is that nation that is repreſented by men who, in a body, are to be led by a few, if that few guide wrong! who go up honeſt but ignorant, who continue allways the laſt (ignorant), but are onely the firſt (honeſt), as they fall into good or bad company; yet how many ſuch have in time paſt (now—Heavens be praiſ'd for the change—'tis quite otherwiſe) been truſted with the fate of their country, and how ſad is the fate of that country which is thus repreſented!—but that by the by.

Of[1] theſe gentlemen or ſuch as theſe I met with the following paſſage from one of their own number. A certain perſon was employ'd to draw up a caſe (^{a}) for ſome merchants, who having ſet up a particular manufactory in the country applyed to their maſters, the Houſe of Commons, then ſitting, for ſome particular priveleges neceſſary to them for the carrying on the buſſineſs they were engag'd in and which they alleaged was a prodigious improvement to trade and an advantage to the whole country.

In order to explaine to the gentry the great ſervice *f.* 103. the undertaking would be to the nacion in generall, the propoſall gave a calculation of numbers that were employ'd by them on ſeverall occaſions,[2] as 15000 families[3] in the copper mines in Cornwall and Devon, 10,000 familyes in digging and carriage of coales in another county, ſo many thouſand upon another work in another part

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(^{a}) So they call the papers drawn up by ſuch as have petitions depending in the Houſe of Commons, and which are to make good the allegacions of their peticion.

[1] This paſſage, beginning *Of theſe* and ending *to the whole country*, as well as foot-note (^{a}) are struck out in MS.

[2] MS. *occaſion.* [3] MS. *familes.*

part of England, and ſo on, till they made it up 150,000 families, then reckoning 8 to a family they multiply'd the number by 8, which made up the foot of the account be a million and half, which was all caſt up in figures very regularly and exactly at the bottom of the propoſall.

In this form, the ſcheme was drawn up, printed, and delivred to the gentlemen to read and conſider of it, in order to obtain their favour and vote, when the caſe was to come upon the carpet.

But in a day or two, when the printed memorial came to be read, a certain gentleman, a M . . . . , who was in the intreſt of the peticioners and had ſtirr'd for them among his fellow repreſentatives,[1] came to them in a great paſſion and with a mouth full of hard words, calling them f . . ls for offring ſuch a paper as that to the Houſe.

In a word, not to enter too farr into the particulars for the ſake of public fame and of who it was that raiſ'd the objeccion, I ſay, in a word, the paper was not legible, and the poor peticioners were oblig'd to be at the charge of printing it over again in words at length, after having been reprimanded very warmly by their ſaid friend for their impudence in ſo much as ſuppoſing that gentlemen would giv themſelves the trouble to read their figures into words.

Accordingly the paper was reprinted, and inſtead of 10,000 it was ſaid at large ten thouſand, and in ſtead of 150,000 one hundred and fifty thouſand, inſtead of 1,500,000 was printed at large one million fiv hundred thouſand, and ſo of the reſt; this being done the preſumcion of the firſt paper was pardon'd, the gentlemen were good friends again, and the pititioners carryed their point.

It is indeed very rude to accoſt gentlemen in an illegible or unintelligible character and a language they don't underſtand, and therefore to fill a paper with long rows of unites, tens, hundreds, thouſands, tens of thouſands, hundreds of thouſands, and the like, and preſent it to men who never learnt that way of telling noſes, how prepoſterous muſt it be! The merchants peticioners were therefore very much in the wrong and had they loſt their cauſe by it, they might have thank't themſelves; for that indeed they ought to have known better.

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[1] MS. *reprepreſentatives.*

CAP. V.

f. 66. *That it is not to late to put a ſtop to this national defect of learning and that the gentlemen of England, generally ſpeaking, may in a great meaſure retriev the loſs of their education by a little voluntary applicacion; and an account of ſome proper and very eaſie methods, for the doing it I have heard.*

f. 101. I HAVE heard ſome nice people obſerv that pride was a neceſſary virtue to mankind and the happyeſt man in the world is the proud man. The nocion may have ſome remote truth in it, but then it wants explanacion; for it is a ſatyr in it ſelf, and points at the very caſe I am ſpeaking of. It grants that the gentlemen are uneducated and ignorant and wretchedly untaught. The cauſe or occaſion of this they ſay was, at firſt, pride, which was ſo far a vice as it appear'd in ſcorning the ſchools, hateing inſtruccion, deſpiſing languages and learning as mean and mechanick things below their quallity. There I ſay pride is acknowleg'd to be a vice, a child of the meer Devil without any diſguiſe.

Now if the man was ſencible of the defects of his education, he would be miſerable to the laſt degree, ſay theſe criticall enquirers; would curſe his parents that ſhould have been his inſtructors, curſe the hour he was born; and, ſick of his deſpicable life, perhaps, would hang himſelf out of it. But here his pride ſteps in, and it ſaves his life, keeps him from the knowlege of his miſery, keeps the ſence of it from his heart, perſwades him he is happy, and makes him like a man in Bedlam dance in his chains; perſwades him to be vain of his ignorance and to value himſelv upon his being above all improvment; that he is a prince, nay a king in his manſion houſe or pallace, who has all learning and all knowlege in penſion under him; that ſchollars are onely bound to his ſervice and uſefull to him on particular occaſions, as interpreters are to princes and to ambaſſadors, ſo that he is ſtill great and happy even in his ignorance; that his imperfections are no imperfeccions to him: and all by the meer conſequence of his pride, which is thus far a virtue to him.

But to paſs theſe ſpeculacions and to leav them as we find them: The want of knowlege and inſtruccion, let our pride inſinuate what it will to the contrary, is certainly an infelicity in life, eſpecially where the depravity is rooted and the caſe rendred incurable; but I am of a quite differing opinion as to the circumſtances[1] of the thing. I am far from looking upon the defeas as incurable, and there the notion of their pride being a vertue is all ſunk and loſt at once; for the pride is a deluſion not a vertue, as lunacy is a dilirium in the brain, ſhowing things in a falſe and borrow'd light and in a differing ſituacion from what they really are.

The want of learning, the defficiency of education is a diſeas. 'Tis a deprivation of knowleg, a weakning of the underſtanding, a diſtemper in, or rather an accident upon, nature. But I enter my caveat againſt the pacient's being given over by his phyſitians. *Nil deſperandum:* as in other diſtempers, while there is life there is hope, ſo in this diſeaſe of the underſtanding, f. 102. *while there are brains there is hope.* If the youth to be taught has been indeed an idiot; if the defect is in nature and he has no genius, no power to reciev informacion, that's quite another caſe. Then if he had had all the education the world could giv, he would have come out the ſame original block-head that he went in; and it is equally to no purpoſe to talk of retrieving it in ſuch a perſon when he is grown up.

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[1] Abbreviated.

But what is this to the caſe before us? This is not the condicion of our gentry. Idiotiſm is none of the defect. Our gentry are not what we call born fools. There may be ſome natural incapaſcitys, but that is not the national defect. They have generally naturall powers, but the grand defficiency is want of erudition, want of teaching, want of the helps of art to cultivate the ſoil and improv the head: and this makes me ſay as before, *Nil deſperandum.* The caſe is all retrievable; the diſeas is to be cur'd. If there is but a ſtock of head it may be all recovr'd. If there is but a ſpark in Nature the fire may be ſtill kindl'd. There are methods of inſtruccion to be found out which are neither below the quallity of a gentleman to make uſe of, or unſuitable to his yeares, ſuppoſe him to be a man grown: for a man is never too old to be made wiſe if capable of recieving and retaining the impreſſions of learning; and yet I am not for ſending them to ſchool in their adult ſtate, and putting gentlemen at 30 or 40 yeares of age to learn their accidence. I ſhall propoſe nothing unbecoming them as men or as gentlemen. They ſhall be their own preceptors, their own tutors, and themſelves ſhall inſtruct themſelves. What little helps they ſhall ſtoop to make uſe of ſhall neither be below them or irkſome to them, but ſuch as ſhall make it all a pleaſure and the moſt delightfull thing in the world.

The firſt thing to be enquir'd into in this caſe is this: is the gentleman ſencible of his defficiency? Is he wiſe enough to kno' he is ignorant, or is he weak enough to think himſelf wiſe when he is really otherwiſe? In a word, is he a Czar of Moſcovy[1]? Is he humble enough to be taught and ſencible enough of his want of learning to deſire to learn?

Here indeed lyes the whole weight of the caſe. If the man is bloated up with pride, that worſt of folly, that vice of the brain, which ſome, as abov, would have call'd a virtue; if he is not ſencible of his weakneſs, his being unquallifyed for the company of men of ſence, unfit for publick appearance or public employment, or to ſerv his country or his family; if he is one of that ſort indeed as the Scripture ſayes in another caſe, *There is more hope of a fool than of him:* ſuch a creature is inflexible and harden'd; 'tis to no purpoſe to meddle with him, or ſo much as to talk to him of it; as a ſick perſon that refuſes phyſic is, in the conſequence of that obſtinacy, to be eſteem'd as incurable as he in whom the diſeas is too ſtrong for the medicine: the very obſtinacy is a deſeas worſe than the feaver and the man dyes becauſe he will dye.

On the other hand, if he is ſencible of what other men have that he wants, and abov all, that it is not too late to recover the loſs; if he beares the defect of his underſtanding as a diſtemper and is willing to trye all poſſible remedies for a cure: ſuch a man, in my opinion, may be cur'd; that is, in a few words, let him not repine at his not being a ſchollar and not being well educated. He ſhall yet be a man of learning in ſpite of all the time loſt, and that without the fateague of the ſchool, without hammering ſeaven year at the Latin and the Greek, and without tormenting, loading, and overloading his memory with the meer dead weight of words. On the contrary, he ſhall maſter all the needfull ſtudy of ſcience without it. He ſhall judge of true learning by the ſtrength of nature; reaſon ſhall be his guide into the ſtudy of Nature as nature ſhall be in the purſuit of his reaſon, and he ſhall be a man of knowlege with eaſe and delight.

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[1] MS. *Moſco'*.

I ſhall lead you into a more imediate underſtanding of what I mean, by giving a ſhort hiſtory of fact in a converſation upon this ſubject with a perſon who is the living exemplificacion of the thing, whoſe ſtory pleaſe to take partly from his own mouth in the following relation.

f. 103. I was talking of this very ſeriouſly once to a gentleman who was under the miſsfortune of this hereditary ignorance or defect of learning, and was none of thoſe who valued themſelves upon it. On the contrary, it was *the very plague of his life*, and, as he ſaid, it *tormented the very ſoul within him;* I repeat his own words. He uſ'd to ſay he was entr'd a block-head from his cradle, and his mother doom'd him to be a coxcomb before ſhe knew whether he had wit enough for the character or no. "And reſolving," ſaid he, "that I ſhould be a fool of one ſort or another, ſhe anticipated my want of brains by my want of education; that if I would not be a fool by nature I ſhould have the happyneſs of being ſo by art; and if I did not want brains, I ſhould want teaching how to uſe them, which was the ſame thing; for," adds he, "*idem eſt non eſſe et non apperire.*"

"But harke ye, Sir," ſaid I, "if you were never taught, how come you to underſtand Latin?"

"O," ſayes he, "as a true penitent abhorrs the ſtate of wickedneſs he liv'd in before his repentance, and can't be ſaid to have repented if he does not, ſo it was *f.* 104. impoſſible for me to be, as I tell you, plaagu'd and tormented with the refleccion upon the ruine of my education, and not do ſomething to recover it."

"I

"I am very glad to hear you ſay ſo," ſaid I, "becauſe I kno' ſeverall gentlemen in the ſame condicion; but they all ſit down and deſpair. They ſay 'tis too late, they are too old, the prime of youth, which is the time to learn, is paſt, and there is no room for it; and ſo they ſit down with their ignorance and defficiency till it grows habitual."

"Why, then," ſaid my friend, "they are habitual fools, and I had been ſo to this day if my father had liv'd."

"How, your father? Why, was the old gentleman againſt your learning?"

"He was one of them that," ſaid he, "thought there was no great occaſion for it in a gentleman, that it fill'd their heads with great thoughts, wandring ambitions, aſpiring deſires, and ſent them abroad from their eſtates and from their tennants and neighbours, where they might live mery and ſafe, happy and belov'd all their dayes, and made them run into the armys, to hunt after honour and be knock'd o' th' head for a feather in their caps call'd fame; or to Court, where they turn'd harpies and blood ſuckers upon their country and learnt all the vile ways of recieving a little for giving a great deal, ſelling their country and coming home beggars: and thus the old gentleman was for keeping his ſon at home a fool for fear of his going abroad to be a knave."

"Well, Sir," ſaid I, "but you have liv'd at home, and yet kno' the world as well as thoſe that have been abroad. You have been taught nothing, and yet you kno' every thing. You are illiterate, and yet you talk Latin and French and Italian. You call your ſelf a fool; pray, what kind of a fool muſt we call you?"

"Why, I'll tell you my caſe," ſayes he. "My father dyed young, and I came to the eſtate at two and twenty, a young untaught, half educated thing. I might indeed be ſaid to read and write, and that's all; for I did both very ignorantly and ſorrily, and farther than that I did nothing and knew nothing, and what was ſtill worſe, I was as well pleaſ'd with my ignorance as my father was; and haveing often heard his diſcourſes upon that ſubject I began to talk the ſame language, till I ſcorn'd learning, deſpiſ'd books, thought my ſelf above teaching; in a word, I was compleatly come up to Solomon's ſtandard of a fool:—*I had no delight in underſtanding.*

"It happen'd one day that being at the wedding of a neighbouring lady, a near relation of mine, who was marry'd to a truly complete young gentleman and of a good eſtate, I obſerv'd there was a great deal of good company and a great deal of mirth, and I was as gay as my neighbours. The wedding was kept at the ladye's mother's houſe, who was the widdow of a barronet, and her ſon (the heir) being under age, the family remain'd in the manſion houſe, which was very large and fine. As there was mirth enough among the young people, ſo there was chat and diſcourſe among the graver gentry, ſome of one kind, ſome of another; but in all their little companies as they ſeperated into ſmall committees in the ſeverall parlours and gardens and walks of the houſe, as uſuall, I obſerv'd allmoſt all the diſcourſe, as well among the relations of the lady as others, was taken up in the extraordinary character of the bridegroom, what a fine gentleman he was.

"The young ladys admir'd him: he was ſo handſome, ſo genteel, danc'd ſo fine, ſo charming a ſhape, talk'd ſo finely, and the like; the older ladyes lik'd him: he was ſo modeſt, ſo corteous, had ſuch a character for being ſo obliging to the pooreſt and meaneſt of his neighbours, ſo good to his tennants, ſo univerſally belov'd. They all concluded the lady would be compleatly happy; and indeed ſhe was ſo. The young gentlemen were exceedingly pleaſ'd, too, but they had the leaſt to ſay of him, for he was above their claſs; and one of them in the hight of good humour ſaid, 'I like my new couſin wonderfully, but d . . . . him, he is too learned for me, he is fitter to be an arch-biſhop than a ſpoilt man; and yet he's a good humour'd, merry fellow too; he's fit for any thing;' and at laſt it came out: '*Would I had half his ſence*, tho' he had half my eſtate!'

"Among the graver gentry—for there were ſeverall *f.* 104 *b.* of them, too—it was the ſame thing in a more ſolid degree. They had his character up in a ſtrain ſuitable to themſelves, and particularly one ſet that I was plac'd among a good while, being all my neighbours and gentlemen I was acquainted with, talk'd very particularly of him.

"Theſe came into all the ſentiments of the younger people, viz., that he was every way a complete gentleman; but a certain clergyman that was among them, a man noted for his learning and of a very good character alſo, ſaid he had had a great deal of converſation with him. 'I was never more delighted,' ſaid he, 'in any gentleman's company in my life. He has travell'd over ſome of the world in perſon and over all the reſt in books. He ſpeaks five or ſix languages; particularly,' ſaid he, 'he talks Latin and French as if they were his native tongues; he is perfectly accquainted with the cuſtomes and manners of all the nations he has been in; and yet his diſcourſe is ſo modeſt, ſo grave, ſo free from a noiſie rattling way, which is ſo common in the world, that 'tis a pleaſure to be in his company.'

"Another gentleman, who is call'd a *virtuoſo* in our country and is alſo a noted phyſitian, he took it from the miniſter. 'It is ſo, indeed,' ſaies he, 'he is a finiſh'd ſchollar. I never met with ſo much wit, ſo much ſolid judgement, and ſo much polite learning in any gentleman of his age in my life. We were talking phyloſophy the other day with him; why he has treaſur'd up a maſs of experiments of the niceſt nature that I ever met with; he has the Phyloſophic Tranſaccions allmoſt by heart, he has brought ſomething in his head from every place where he has been, and has a vaſt memory; and then for aſtronomy,' ſayes the doctor, 'he talks of the ſtarrs and of the planets as if he was born there, and of their diſtances, mocions, and revolutions, as if he had travell'd with them and knew his way back again.'"

"This was a new comet, ſure, among the country gentlemen," ſaid I; "but didn't ſuch a character make the untaught gentlemen diſlike him, or did they envy him?"

"I don't kno' what they did," ſaid my friend, "but I'll tell you what I did. I look'd upon him with a kind of ſurprize. I ſaw every thing in him that they ſaid of him with a great deal of pleaſure; but I went away with a proporcion'd chagrin upon my mind, and all the way it run in my thoughts: 'Ay, this is educacion, indeed, this is learning,' ſaid I. 'Here my father might ſee whether learning ſits well upon a gentleman, whether a gentleman is above being well educated. Why, if I had been taught, all this might have been my character as well as his.'"

"Theſe were juſt refleccions," ſaid I; "but to what purpoſe? Seeing your fate, as you ſay, was determin'd, and that you were paſſ't attaining thoſe things which were onely to be had by an early liberall education, you ought not to carry it too far, and make the want of what you cou'd not obtain embitter the comforts you had poſeſſion of and you ought to enjoy with as much ſatiſſaction[1] as you can."

He return'd warmly upon me, and told me I was quite miſtaken.—"All my eſtate," added he, "would have been nothing to me, nor did I enjoy one hour's ſatisfaction, till I entred into meaſures for recovring what I had ſo miſerably loſt, tho' it was not loſt by my own fault, nor ſhould I have enjoyd myſelf to this day, if I had not perſued the meaſures which were happily dictated to me by a learned man of my accquaintance to recover in ſome degree the curſed darkneſs of my uncultivated youth, and gain'd ſome little light, at leaſt more than I had before."

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[1] Abbreviated.

"Why," ſaid I, "you were a ſtrange convict, you were a proſelite to learning by meer miraculous inſpiration; the impreſſion was ſtrook at a heat; you were a meer Czar of Muſcovy, a ſoul inſpir'd with a true afflicting ſence of your want of knowlege, and reſolv'd at any expence to retriev it."

"I was ſo indeed," ſayes he; "and you ſhall find, if *f.* 105. the ſtory is not too long for your pacience, what courſe I took with my ſelf, and what ſucceſs I had."

"I ſhall be very glad to hear it," ſaid I, "upon many accounts. Perhaps, I may make uſe of it to the advantage of ſome other gentlemen of my accquaintance, who are under the ſame miſsfortune and with as little ſatisfaction[1] as you were, but do not ſee their way out of it, nor I for them."

"I'll make the account as ſhort as I can," ſayes he, "but the tranſaccion was tedious, and tho' I hate a long ſtory I fear you will think it ſo; let me make it as ſhort as I will. To begin then where I left off, I ſpent two or three dayes at home tormenting my mind about this young gentleman and talking to my ſelf of what a ſot I was; how I was not fit to be ſeen in his company, or quallify'd ſo much as to converſe with him. I knew that I was oblig'd, in regard to my neece who he had marryed, to giv him an invitacion to my houſe but I thought I ſhould be aſham'd ſo much as to talk with him."

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[1] Abbreviated.

I told my friend I thought he was too humble, that he lay'd himſelf lower than he had any reaſon to do, and that, tho' he was not taught much and had not the advantage of education which others had, yet he was far from a fool; that as he need not be aſham'd to go into any company, ſo no company would be aſham'd of him.

"Well," ſayes he, "you did not kno' me then. I am but ſo ſo now," added he, "but I was a down-right country blocked then, with this excepcion onely, viz., that I believ I thought of my ſelf as I ought to think; for all I thought of my ſelf I knew of my ſelf, and none knew it better. I, in ſhort, knew nothing better than that I was a fool and knew nothing."

"And," ſaid I, "that was a foundation to build all upon that was to be known; for there is no learning any thing till we are humble enough to ſee we want teaching."

"Well," ſayes he, "but to go on, my neece came and din'd with me, and her huſband with her, and I kept them there a week; for indeed I was ſo charm'd with the young gentleman, that I could not part with him. He diſcourſ'd of every thing with ſuch an agreeable plaineſs and clearneſs, and with all was ſo ſincere in every thing, ſo modeſt, ſo humble, and yet ſo ſtrong in his reaſoning, that it was all muſick. I was charm'd with him, and, in ſhort, he charm'd all the gentry about; for ſeverall came to ſee me while he was there, and all were delighted with him."

"Sir," ſaid I, "you giv a character of him that would tempt a phyloſopher; can't you giv a friend the felicity of ſeeing ſuch a morning ſtarr, ſuch a genius as hardly ever was ſeen before."

He anſwer'd, if I would come down into the country, he would go and make him a viſit and carry me with him;

him ; which ſome time after this we did, and I found all he ſaid to be very juſt with reſpect to the gentleman ; but that is not to our purpoſe, unleſs it be to ſhow how glorious an embelliſhment learning and bright parts are to a ſoul when they meet in the perſon of a gentleman ; but of that by itſelf. I deſir'd him to go on with his ſtory, which he did thus.

"After he had been with me ſome dayes," ſays my friend, "I had by many tokens perciev'd I might with ſafety open my ſelf to him. I aſk'd him one morning to take a walk and told him I wanted to have a little chat with him ; ſo we went out together into the garden, and I unboſom'd my ſelf to him without any reſerv.

"'Couſin,' ſaid I, ''tis the miſsfortune of many, nay, of moſt gentlemen in this part of the country, and I doubt not but you have taken notice of it in other places, that we—for I may name my ſelf among them—are brought up in ignorance, are taught nothing. Our fathers thought it below them to put us to ſchool, and ſo indeed we are below all learning ; as we are taught nothing, ſo we kno' nothing, but live like the bear in the forreſt, wild and not to be tam'd, rough and not to be ſmooth'd, courſe and not to be poliſhed.' *f.* 106.

"He began to compliment me about putting my ſelf among them ; he could not denye but it was ſo in generall, but would have made an excepcion for his uncle.

"'No, no, nephew, don't flatter me,' ſayes I. ''Tis even ſo with me in common with my neighbours. My father had that curſed notion that is ſo univerſally receiv'd, that learning is a kind of mechaniſme, that 'tis uſeleſs to a gentleman, and that to go to ſchool is below his quality ; and ſo we that are eldeſt ſons are bred for fools by the meer courſe of Nature.

"'But,' ſaies I, 'my nocions[1] of things, however ignorant, are different from many people ; I can not think but that, tho' we were not made ſchollars when we were boys, we need not go block-heads to the grave. Is there nothing to be learnt now, becauſe we learn't nothing then? Is there no learning in the world, couſin, but Greek and Latin?'

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[1] MS. *nocion.*

"He anſwer'd after ſome very modeſt apologies for talking ſo to me: yes, there was certainly a great many good things to be learn't that had no great relacion to the tongues; that, 'tis true, the tongues were uſefull helps, but that there were ſeverall things very needfull for the knowlege of a gentleman that allways, or at leaſt generally, were taught in Engliſh, and that ſome of the greateſt maſters of them in their time had not ſo much as underſtood Latin or Greek.

"'Well, nephew,' ſaid I, 'now you come to me. Pray then, without any ceremony or appology, be ſo free with me as to tell me what thoſe things are; what is the propereſt method to apply to them, and which of them are proper for, and moſt uſefull to, a gentleman; for ſince I have not been taught what I ſhould have learnt in the time of it, I am reſolv'd to learn what I can, tho' out of ſeaſon.'

"'Sir,' ſaid my nephew, 'it is true that cuſtome has prevail'd ſo at our Univerſities in favour of the tongues, that all the publick exerciſes in the ſchooles are perform'd in the learned languages, but it is acknowleg'd there is not an abſolute neceſſity of it other than that of preſerving the uſe and knowlege of thoſe tongues in the ſchollars that perform them. But 'tis certain that a courſe of phyloſophy as well naturall as experimental, as alſo of the mathematicks, of aſtronomy and of moſt of the ſciences properly ſo called, is to be taught in the Engliſh tongue, if the tutor or maſter pleaſe to read his lectures in thoſe ſciences in Engliſh to his pupils.'

"'Say you ſo, nephew?' ſaid I, 'and is there then no ſuch tutor to be found that will read his lectures, as you call them, in the Engliſh tongue? and may I not make my ſelf maſter of ſome degree of knowlege in the world, tho' I do not meddle with Latin and Greek.'

"'Yes, Sir,' ſayes he, 'without doubt, you may; beſides there are ſome things, as I ſaid before, which are never taught in Latin or Greek, or very rarely, and which are in themſelves noble ſtudyes and very agreeable to the genius and temper of a gentleman, extremely uſefull to him in converſation, and ſuited to his inclinacion as a man of quallity, and eſpecially as a man of ſence.'

"'Pray, what are they, couſin?' ſaid I.

"'Sir,' ſayes he, 'the firſt and moſt valuable is the uſe of the globes, or to ſpeak more properly the ſtudy of Geography, the knowlege of mapps, as alſo ſo much of Aſtronomy as may giv him a theory of the univerſe, particularly as far as relates to the motion and diſtances of the heavenly bodies, the eclypſes, conjunctions, revolutions, and influences of the planets, comets, fix'd ſtarrs, and other phænomena of nature.'

"'May all theſe be learned in Engliſh?' ſaid I.

"He return'd: 'Sir, as I ſaid before, they are very ſeldome taught in Latin except in the Univerſities, and there it is done ſo meerly as it was the antient cuſtome, and I think none of the beſt cuſtomes neither.'

"'Why ſo, nephew?' ſaid I. *f.* 107

"'Becauſe, Sir,' ſaid he, 'it ſeems to confine the knowlege of thoſe uſefull ſtudies to the ſchooles and to the men of letters excluſiv of other men, whereas abundance of men do, and more might, underſtand them who are not train'd up at the colleges, and whoſe fortunes would not admitt a liberall education; and confining theſe moſt neceſſary branches of ſcience to thoſe onely who can read and underſtand Latin is tying up knowlege to a few, whereas Science being a publick bleſſing to mankind ought to be extended and made as difuſiv as poſſible, and ſhould, as the Scripture ſayes of ſacred knowlege, ſpread over the whole earth, as the waters cover the ſea.'

"'I think you are very right there, nephew,' ſaid I, 'and in particular your diſcourſe is very agreeable to me; for according to your notion, then, I may learn all theſe things ſtill, tho' I don't go to ſchool again like a boy.'

"'Sir,' anſwer'd my nephew, 'ſo far from going to ſchool again like a boy, that theſe things are ſeldome learnt till we are men; and as the ſeafaring men are generally well accquainted with theſe ſtudyes, let any one examine how few of them underſtand Latin or Greek; nay, the very Maſters that teach them do not allwayes underſtand thoſe tongues and have no occaſion for it, as I think I hinted before; and if Latin and Greek was neceſſary to a ſtudy of Aſtronomy, Navigation, and, in generall, ſeverall other branches of the Mathematicks, what would become of Navigation in generall; for where is there a ſea-faring man in twenty that underſtands Latin, and yet ſome of them the compleateſt artiſts in the world.'

"'Well; but, couſin,' ſaid I, 'you intimated, I think, that there were two reaſons why you thought the cuſtome of the Univerſities in confining their ſchollars to read all the ſyſtems in the Latin tongue was not the beſt method: pray, what was the other reaſon?'

"'Truly, Sir, my other reaſon was becauſe it throws the Engliſh tongue ſo entirely out of uſe among them, excluding it from all the Colleges, and out of every courſe of their teachings, that many gentlemen come from the Univerſity excellently well ſkill'd in the ſciences, Maſters, nay, criticks, in the Oriental languages and in moſt parts of uſefull learning, and can hardly ſpell their mother tongue, at leaſt 'tis frequent that, tho' all their performances are at laſt to iſſue in the original mother Engliſh, yet being loſt out of all their ſchool readings and out of all the lectures of their tutors and all their own performances, they have no ſtile, no diction, no beauty or cadence of expreſſion, but are ſo dull, ſo awkward and ſo heavy in delivring themſelves, that 'twould be a ſhame to hear one of them declaim in Engliſh, who, perhaps, would gain an univerſall applauſe if it were perform'd in the Latin tongue.'

"'This is ſtill o' my ſide, couſin,' ſaid I, 'and 'tis a very great ſatisfaction to me to hear it; for by your account of the thing 'tis very poſſible for me, tho' not a boy, and tho' I have no Greek or Latin, to be maſter of ſome parts of learning, at leaſt; if I can not be a ſchollar I need not be a fool.'

"'Sir,' ſayes my nephew, 'I am of opinion that the world has a very wrong notion of what they call a ſchollar. I think 'tis a miſtake that a man can not be call'd a ſchollar, unleſs he be maſter of all claſſick learning. There's Mr. . . . . . , a gentleman who you know very well, and we all think him an extraordinary perſon.'

"'Why,' ſaid I, 'is not Mr. . . . . . a ſchollar? I wiſh I were as good a ſchollar as he, I would deſire no better a ſtock of learning. Why, I have heard him diſcourſe with you, nephew, I thought it was in Latin.'

"'No, Sir,' ſayes he, 'he does not ſpeak Latin at all. He was taught Latin, and underſtands it tollerably well to read it, but not enough to diſcourſe in it.'

"'What was it then you talkt?' ſaid I.

"'It was Italian, Sir,' ſaid he.

"'Well then,' ſaid I, 'he underſtands ſome tongues. Will nothing make a man a ſchollar but Latin and Greek?'

"'Some tongues, Sir,' ſaid my nephew, 'why, he underſtands allmoſt every thing but Latin and Greek, and yet we will not, we muſt not, allow him to be a ſchollar.' *f.* 109.

"'Every thing,' ſayed I, 'pray, what do you call every thing? It ſeems they won't allow him to underſtand any thing.'

"'Why, Sir,' return'd he, 'I think I may ſay every thing that's needfull to be known and that makes a man fit for the converſation of the beſt men, for example.

"'1. He ſpeaks French as fluent as the Engliſh. He ſpeaks Spaniſh and Italian and ſomething of the Sclavonian, for he has converſ't very much among the Poles and Muſcovites, and he has alſo ſome thing of the Portugueſe: and yet he is NO SCHOLLAR.

"'2. He is as good a proficient in Experimental Phyloſophy as moſt private gentlemen and has a nice colleccion of rarities: yet he is NO SCHOLLAR.

"'3. He is a maſter in Geography, has the ſituacion of the world at his fingers' ends. You can not name any country in the known part of Europe but he can giv you extempore an account of its ſituacion, latitude, rivers, chief towns, its commerce, and, nay, and ſome thing of its hiſtory and of its politicall intreſts: yet he is NO SCHOLLAR.

"'4. He is as well ſkill'd in all aſtronomicall knowlege, the motions and revolutions of the heavenly bodies as moſt maſters in that ſcience, that ever I have met with, and I have heard ſeverall men of great judgement in thoſe things ſay the ſame of him: but he is NO SCHOLLAR.

"'5. He is a maſter of Hiſtory, and, indeed, I may ſay he is an univerſall hiſtorian, eſpecially of all the hiſtorys that are written or tranſlated into the Engliſh tongue, and thoſe that are not, he has read them in French or Italian: but he is NO SCHOLLAR.

"'6. For his own country he is a walking map; he has travell'd thro' the whole iſland, and thro' moſt parts of it ſeverall times over; he has made ſome of the moſt criticall remarks of ſeverall parts of it, ſo that he could not be charg'd, when he went abroad, to have known much of other countryes and nothing of his own as is the juſt ſcandal of moſt Engliſh travellers: and yet this man forſooth is NO SCHOLLAR.'

"'This is extraordinary. Pray then,' ſaid I, 'what *f. 107 b.* do you call a ſchollar?'

"'Truly, Sir,' ſaid my kinſman, 'I am aſham'd almoſt to tell you what they call ſchollars. A man may be a ſchollar in their ſence and be good for nothing, be a meer pedant, a Greek and Latin monger. I think our meer ſchollars are a kind of mechanicks in the ſchools, for they deal in words and ſyllables as haberdaſhers deal in ſmall ware. They trade[1] in meaſure, quantityes, dactyls, and ſpondæs, as inſtrument-makers do in quadrants, rules, ſquares, and compaſſes; etymologyes, and derivations, prepoſitions and terminations, points, commas, colons and ſemicolons, etc., are the product of their brain, juſt as gods and devils are made in Italy by every carver and painter; and they fix them in their proper ſtations in perſpectiv, juſt as they do in nitches and glaſs windowes.'

"'You make ſtrange fellows of them, indeed,' ſaid I.

"'I make nothing of them,' ſaid my nephew, 'but what they are. They are meer pædagogues, they ſeem to be form'd in a ſchool on purpoſe to dye in a ſchool.'

"'They are good for linguiſts,' ſaid I, 'are they not? or, I ſuppoſe, for interpreters and tranſlators?'

"'No, indeed, Sir,' ſayes he, 'they are ſcarſe good for interpreters; and as for tranſlators, they are not fit by any means, for there is not one in twenty of them underſtands Engliſh, they have been ſo ſwallow'd up in Latin and Greek, Hebrew[2] and Syriac and Arabick, and value themſelves ſo much upon their exotick phraſes, crabed expreſſions, and harſh unſonorous words, that they wholly diſregard the Engliſh, in which they ought principally to ſtudy to be plain and intelligible.'

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[1] *T.*

[2] *Heb.*

"'Is it poſſible, couſin,' ſaid I, 'they ſhould underſtand all languages and not their own?'

"'I do not ſay, Sir,' ſaid he, 'that, that they don't underſtand it; but they have no ſtile, no fluency, no polite language in their expreſſion; nay, they ſcarſe ſpell it right. You would be aſham'd to ſee the Engliſh ſome of them write; nay, ſome of them are ſo ſencible of it that they are aſham'd of it themſelves, and therefore hardly write at all.'

"'What's the meaning of all this, couſin?' ſaid I, 'what is to be done, then?—May a man be a ſchollar and a fool too? That's ſtrange. Who would be a ſchollar then? Why, my father was in the right then to make a blocked of me the eaſyeſt way, if it would have been ſo after hard ſtudy; this way's the beſt a great deal.'

"'Sir,' anſwer'd my kinſman with a ſmile and abundance of good humour in his face, 'you are too hard upon your ſelf. No queſtion but learning is a beauty and an ornament to the very ſoul; but the fineſt jewell ill ſet can not ſhine. Theſe men miſtake the end and deſign of learning. I think they let their very ſouls ruſt under the weight of thoſe particular materialls which are given to poliſh it. Learning is an ornament to a gentleman; but like Saul's armour upon little David, 'tis a meer caſe of iron to a cynic, moroſe, ſour temper; it makes 'em ſtalk about and go ſtiff as if they were fit for nothing but to be ſcrew'd up into Greek and Latin like a ſkeleton in a preſs, to ſcare folks and be frightfull.'

f. 108. "'Well, couſin,' ſaid I, 'but how muſt we underſtand the extream? What is learning then? and who would be a ſchollar to be ſo much as in danger of this madneſs?'

"'Sir,' ſaid he, merrily, 'we muſt diſtinguiſh between a man of polite learning and a meer ſchollar: the firſt is a gentleman and what a gentleman ſhould be; the laſt is a meer book-caſe, a bundle of letters, a head ſtufft with the jargon of languages, a man that underſtands every body but is underſtood by no body, a creature buryed aliv in heaps of antients and moderns, full of tongues but no language, all ſence but no wit, in a word, all learning and no manners.'

"'But what then ſhould I be, couſin,' ſaid I; 'for I would fain be ſome thing that I am not.'

"He anſwer'd, 'I ſee nothing you want, Sir, but a little reading.'

"'I differ from you there, couſin,' ſaid I, 'I doubt you are miſtaken; 'tis a great deal I want. I would be glad to read a little.'

"'Perhaps, Sir,' ſaid he, ''tis not ſo much as you imagine. I diſtinguiſh, as I ſaid, between a learned man and a man of learning, as I diſtinguiſh between a ſchollar and a gentleman. You have a polite educacion as a gentleman allready.'

"'An ignorant education, couſin,' ſaid I, 'do you call that polite?'

"'No, Sir,' ſaid he, 'all that you call ignorance would vaniſh preſently with a little application to books.'

"'What can I do,' ſaid I, 'and what will reading do for me that can read nothing but Engliſh.'

"'Reading, Sir, in Engliſh,' ſaid he, 'may do all for you that you want. You may ſtill be *a man of reading*, and that is in a large part of the ſence of that word, *a man of learning*; nay, it is the more gentlemanly part; you may in a word be *a gentleman of learning*.'

"'Your remark I believ is very juſt, nephew,' ſaid I, *f.* 109. 'about a gentleman and a meer ſchollar; but it puts a new thought into my head. Is it poſſible for me to furniſh my ſelf with all that treaſure of knowlege as you ſay Mr. . . . . . is maſter of, who they ſay is no ſchollar: tho' I kno' nothing of Greek and Latin? for I am no ſchollar in the groſſeſt ſence of that ſaying.'

"'Yes, Sir,' ſaid my nephew, 'I make no doubt of it.'

f. 108. "'You begin to put new life into me, couſin,' ſaid I, 'why, I deſire to be no better a ſchollar than Mr. . . . . . All the gentry in the country admire him, the moſt learn'd and beſt educated among them! Even the clergy-men ſay he is a moſt accompliſh'd complete gentleman. I wiſh I was but half ſuch a ſchollar.'

"'Sir,' ſaid my nephew, 'he had it not by education?'

"'What do you mean by that,' ſaid I, 'not by education?'

"'No, Sir,' ſaid he, 'he knew nothing, comparativly ſpeaking; he was bred at home being a gentleman; they thought it a diſhonour to ſend him to ſchool, juſt as you are pleaſ'd to ſay of yourſelf.'

"'But how did he get it all then?' ſaid I.

"'Sir,' ſaid my nephew, 'he never began to look into books till he was 20 year old at leaſt, and then, the ſtory is too long to tell you, he fell upon a voluntary ſtudy, and with ſome very few helps from a chaplain of his father's, who was a man of learning and had travell'd abroad, I ſay, by his aſſiſtance and his own application, he became what now we ſee he is: and you may without doubt do the ſame and more if you pleaſe.'

f. 109. "I was ſurpriſ'd at his diſcourſe. A ſecret joy ſpread over my whole ſoul. I was quite another man than I was before, and I reſolv'd from that moment that if it was in nature, if I had any morall powers, any capaſcities, I would put them to the uttmoſt ſtretch; that I would learn every thing that was to be taught and get every thing that was to be got, that I might no more paſs for a blockhead in company and look ſo much like a fool, as I thought I did and as I concluded others muſt needs think of me too.

"The next morning after this, I took my nephew aſide again, and ask't him if he thought a man might be found out that was capable of putting me into a method for thoſe things we talkt of the night before, and that would undertake it.

"He told me he did not doubt but he might hear of ſuch a man either at London or at the Univerſity, tho' he did not yet kno' of any; but he ſeem'd to doubt my part as to the applicacion.'

"'Don't doubt that, couſin,' ſaid I, 'for I'll lock my ſelf up for ſeaven year for it, if that be needfull. *f.* 110. My time is of no value to me till I know how to employ it better than I do now, and I am ſure I can't employ it better now, than to learn how to employ it better here after. Beſides, I ſhall hang my ſelf or be wiſhing to do it every day to liv in this ſtate of primitiv nature, when it is evedent I may, by a little applicacion, bring my ſelf out of it.'

"Thus, Sir," ſaid my friend, "I have given you an account of the firſt act of this comedye. I doubt I have wearyed you with the length of it."

I was moſt agreeably ſurpriſ'd with this little hiſtory, and afterwards when I had ſome converſation with the young gentleman, his nephew, upon the ſame ſubject, he told me a great many particulars more of their diſcourſe, which his own modeſty would not ſuffer him to mencion and which are too many and too long to be repeated here.

Upon the whole it was happily propoſ'd by his nephew; for ſeeing his uncle, my friend, ſo much in earneſt and that, as he ſaid, the thing it ſelf was ſo much to his reall advantage in the proſpect of it, he was reſolv'd he would not be wanting in promoting ſo good a deſign; ſo he went up to London and afterwards to Cambrige, where he found out a grave gentleman eminent for learning and one of a very good character for his moralls, and who was an excellent tutor, but out of employment and not in very good circumſtances.[1]

This man he brought home to his uncle, who, firſt diſcourſing with him upon the deſign of his taking him and finding he approved of it and thought it practicable, ſoon agreed with him; and he was firſt brought to the houſe on the pretence of ſetting his books in order, and ſo was call'd his library keeper. Tho' the gentleman, my friend, had no great quantity of books before, ſufficient to be call'd a library, yet by the direccion of his new tutor he ſoon furniſh'd himſelf with books proper for his ſtudy, and had in leſs than two year a very good colleccion, not choſen after the manner of the perſon mencion'd before, but carefully and ſkilfully choſen as his reading and his proficiency in ſtudy call'd for them.

He allow'd this library keeper very handſomely at his begining; but as he found him not onely a capable man for his buſſineſs, but a moſt agreeable perſon in his converſation and a worthy good man many other wayes, he added to his allowance and to his conveniences alſo; for he took him and his wife (he had no children) into his family, allow'd him £100 per annum ſalary and a table furniſh'd from his own kitchin; and afterwards having built a ſeperate appartment for his books the library keeper had a very handſome appartment for himſelf, wife, and a maid ſervant, and the gentleman's family chaplin eat with them.

Here he ſhut himſelf up four houres every day: that was his ſtated time, and to which he confin'd himſelf; beſides diverting himſelf at ſpare times with reading hiſtory and ſuch other matters as beſt pleaſ'd his fancy and as were recomended to him by his library keeper.

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[1] Abbreviated.

This courſe he held four year and a half, during which time he ſtudyed ſo hard and with ſuch applicacion, and his teacher mannag'd his inſtruccions with ſuch ſucceſs, that in ſhort he might be ſaid to maſter the ſciences. He run thro' a whole courſe of Phyloſophy, he perfectly compaſſ'd the ſtudy of Geography, the uſe of the maps and globes; he read all that Sir Iſaac Newton, Mr. Whiſton, Mr. Halley had ſaid in Engliſh upon the niceſt ſubjects in Aſtronomy and the ſecrets of Nature; he was extremely delighted with Sir Iſaac's opticks and all his nice experiments, ſeparacion of colours, and other writings; for what he could not come at in Engliſh, his laborious teacher tranſlated for him in leſſons and abridg'd lectures, ſo that in a word in thoſe 4 yeares and half he was a mathematician, a geographer, an aſtronomer, a philoſopher, and, in a word, a compleat ſchollar: and all this without the leaſt help from the Greek or the Latin. However not content with all this, the laſt half year of his ſtudyes his diligent tutor form'd a compendious method to teach him Latin, and made ſuch a progreſs in it, that *f.* 111. the gentleman, my friend, began to underſtand it tollerably well, could read and underſtand any Latin author pretty well, and by talking it conſtantly with his tutor, as it were by rote, had learn'd it as a ſpeech as well as learnt the rudiments and rules of grammar.

But at the end of this ſucceſsful progreſs, his painfull library keeper dropt off and dyed, to his inexpreſſible affliccion and loſs.

He was ſo kind to the memory of his tutor, who he allways call'd *father*, that he continued his wife and her maid in his family, as ſhe was before, allow'd her a table as in her huſband's time, and £20 a year for cloths and her maid's wages, expences, etc., till after about eight year more the widdow delivr'd him of that beneficence and dyed too.

This ſmall hiſtory I have mencion'd here and been the more particular in, that all our gentlemen who are, as many pretend to be, ſencible of the defects of their educacion and of the unhappyneſs of their paternal ignorance may ſee, if they are ſincere in their concern about it, a fair way to recover the defficiency of their educacion, and may ſoon let the world ſee that a gentleman may be a ſchollar without Greek or Latin.

Nor is it abſolutely neceſſary that every gentleman, however deſirous he may be of recovering him ſelf in the improvement of his knowlege, ſhould purſue it with ſo much application and in ſuch a laborious manner as my friend did. He was, indeed, an extraordinary example, and is ſo recommended ; but then he had an inſatiable thirſt after the thing call'd learning, and was reſolute in the purſuit of it, unwearyed in his ſtudy and never ſatisfyed with knowing, and exceeding delighted alſo in the ſucceſs.

I muſt add here that it would be a happy encouraging ſtep towards the improving young gentlemen in ſcience and in the ſtudy of all the liberall arts, as they are juſtly call'd, if they were taught in Engliſh and if all the learned labours of the maſters of the age were made to ſpeak Engliſh, to be levell'd to the capaſcities of the more unlearn'd part of man-kind, who would be encourag'd by that means to look into thoſe happy diſcoveryes in Nature, which have[1] been the ſtudy and labour of ſo many ages.

I have often heard gentlemen complain that the Univerſities ſeem to lock up the knowlege of Nature, as the Papiſts the cup in the Euchariſt, from the uſe of the vulgar, as if they were afraid the unlearned part of the world ſhould grow wiſer, and thoſe that kno' but little for want of inſtruccion ſhould be farther inform'd by the help of reading.

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[1] MS. *has.*

Knowlege can never be too diffuſiv, nor too many men drink at her ſtreams.

The French are particularly to be applauded for this ; they have made allmoſt all the learned labours of the Antients their own by tranſlateing them into their own language and teaching all the phyloſophy and wiſdome of both the firſt and laſt ages in their own tongue to the infinite advantage as well as pleaſure and ſatisfaccion of the people who deſire knowlege.

The learned languages, as they are properly call'd, are no other way valuable to us in the article of knowlege than as they give us the reading of the antient hiſtorys and of the wiſdom and the phyloſophy of the Antients, which is written in thoſe languages, as Plutarch, Herodotus, Xenophon, Homer, and others, in the Greek ; and of Ovid, Horace, Virgil, Saluſt, Livy, and abundance of other authors of the Antients ; and, in a word, the labours of all the primitiv fathers, doctors of the Church, and other authors either religious or phyloſophick, who have written in thoſe languages. Had the learning of the Romans and Grecians been taken from other antient authors, as ours is from them, and been to be ſtudyed in other languages, how few learned writers ſhould we have had eſpecially among the Romans. All the authors we learn from, all the poets, phyloſophers, phyſitians, and hiſtorians, wrot in their mother tongue and in the very language they learnt to ſpeak and ſpell in, whereas we are fain to learn the language of the author firſt and then take in his ſence and underſtanding.

Now if thoſe writeings which are the labours of the learned were handed down to us in our own tongue, if the phyloſophy, the geography, the aſtronomy of as well the antient as the modern writers were made familiar to us, and all liberall arts and ſciences taught in our mother tongue, it muſt be granted men might be made ſchollars at a much eaſier expence as well of labour as of money than now, and men might be term'd truly learned and yet kno' nothing of the Greek or the Latin.

It is ſaid, indeed, that a man that will be a ſchollar ought to be able to examine the tranſlacions of all books with the originalls, to ſee that he is not impoſed vpon by the tranſlator; that no man of ſence cares to read a tranſlation that can read the originall; and in ſome things it may be very well to be able to do ſo.

But is it worth any gentleman's while, as Oldham ſayes, to go ſeaven year to the Grammar Bridewell (the ſchool) and there beat Greek and Latin, as whores beat hemp? Is it worth all this labour to make a man able to read and compare the originals, when he can read and may depend upon the juſtice of the tranſlation?

If a man may be a good Chriſtian, tho' he can not compare all the tranſlations of Scripture which are the foundation of his Chriſtian knowlege, with the originals, and trye all the various readings with the text; that is, in a word, with out being able to read the polyglott
f. 111 *b.* Bible: why may he not be allow'd to be a ſchollar who has gone thro' all the ſciences, paſſ't a courſe of naturall and experimentall phyloſophy, and read over all the works of the beſt maſters in thoſe ſtudyes, tho' he has not read them in the originals but in the tranſlation onely.

It is ſaid of the learned Mr. Cambden that, in order to quallifye himſelf for his great Itinerat or Survey of England, he found himſelf under an neceſſity to ſtudy and make himſelf maſter of the old Welch or Britiſh tongue and alſo of the Saxon, and to be able to read both the Britiſh and Saxon character. The reaſon was plain: there was no tranſlation of all the Britiſh proper names of perſons, places, and families, no authors who had rendred thoſe words into Engliſh or into Latin; for he wrote his *Brittannia* in Latin.

Had there been any tranſlation of thoſe things into Latin or Engliſh, Mr. Cambden would never have beſtowed the fruitleſs labour to learn a language which after his book was finiſhed he knew would be of no uſe to him; and yet Mr. Cambden was no leſs a ſchollar and a learned man before than he was afterward.

We have, no queſtion, a great many learned men among us, and whoſe reputacion for learning ſuffers no diminution, altho' they can not read the Chaldee paraphraſe[1] of the Bible, or the Arabic or Syriac coppies of it, or tho' they can not read the Muſcovite, which is the Sclavonian language, or the Chineſe, which is worſe to find out than all the reſt.

Suppoſe a gentleman whoſe character as ſuch is undiſputed, who thinks it worth his while to ſtudy naturall phyloſophy, to dip into the abyſſe of wiſdom and artfull knowlege call'd aſtronomy, or any other of thoſe happy ſtudyes which, being maſter'd, ſo juſtly denominate a man a ſchollar or a man of a lib'rall educacion; I ſay, why muſt this gentleman take the drudgery upon him of learning that language meerly to quallify himſelf for the ſtudy, when he knows that the books which are needfull for underſtanding that ſcience are allready made Engliſh, and that he may as well learn every branch of ſcience in Engliſh as in Latin.

Upon the whole, the ſtudy of ſcience is the original of learning; the word imports it. 'Tis the ſearch after knowlege. Latin and Greek are indeed great helps to make the work eaſie, all the antient learning being found in thoſe languages, which are therefor call'd the learned languages.

But doubtleſs, Latin and Greek onely propagate[2] themſelves in it, ſeeing by the help of univerſall tranſlation it is poſſible a diligent man may, tho' with ſome difficulty, furniſh himſelf with all neceſſary knowlege without them.

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[1] MS. *paraphaſe.*

[2] MS. *propogate.*

The knowlege of things, not words, make a ſchollar. If you are to be no phyloſopher, unleſs you can read the phyloſophy of the Ancients, and read it too in the languages they were written in, then tranſlation is out of doores, is all labour loſt, and learning and phyloſophy is all lockt up in Latin and Greek, as money in an iron cheſt, which no man can come at without the key.

My friend who ſtudyed thus hard for four year and a half, that according to Solomon he might be truly ſaid to ſeek for Knowlege as for ſilver and to ſearch for her as for hid treaſure, laugh'd at all this.—"Why am I no ſchollar?" ſayes he, "ſeeing I have hunted out Learning in all her deepeſt and darkeſt receſſes, and have found her. I have made all the Greek and Latin that is extant in the world ſubſervient to my inquiry, and, by the help of my never failing library keeper, have had them tranſlated and abridg'd for me, and ſo have made them my own, and now," ſayes he, "I am a
f. 112. ſchollar in the ſtricteſt ſence." And ſo without all doubt he was. It is true, this gentleman follow'd the enquiry after Wiſdom with an unuſuall applicacion; he purſued her with an unwearyed dilligence, and he conquer'd the difficulty by the extreameſt labour both of him ſelf and his faithfull inſtructor.

He had alſo a treaſure in that honeſt and dilligent aſſiſtant. He was a fund of all kind of learning; he was to him a dictionary for the Latin, a lexicon for the Greek, an oracle in all difficultyes, and an interpreter on all languages; and as he often ſaid, he was a fountain of knowlege to him, for the ſtreams were all his own; and as he had him entirely to himſelf, ſo he thought he could not buy him too dear.

The pains that worthy inſtructor took with him and for him ; the dilligence he uſ'd, to find out proper and ſuitable ſubjects to pleaſe, as well as inſtruct him, that he might make his ſtudy a delight to him ; his labour in tranſlating and abridging things which were not to be found in the English ; in a word, the ſincerity and ſucceſs of his endeavour were ſuch, and the gentleman was ſo ſencible of it, that he lov'd him as a father and call'd him ſo, as long as he liv'd, and thought he could never do enough for him ; and that made him, as I have ſaid, take him and his wife and maid ſervant into his family, and when he built his library, build him an appartment and furniſh it and allow him a ſeperate table with the chaplain onely as his gueſt, all which was over and above his firſt agreement ; for at firſt he onely allow'd him an hundred pounds a year, and his lodging was in a farmer's houſe hard by.

I muſt take notice here that I do not by this example intimate a contempt of the learned languages or diſcourage any gentleman from ſending their ſons to the ſchools ſo early that they may make themſelves maſters of thoſe languages in the ſeaſon of them ; and it is not to be denyed but that 'tis greatly to their advantage to be able to read the antient as well as modern labours of the greateſt men in the languages in which they were written.

But the example is brought that thoſe gentlemen who have had the miſsfortune of being neglected when they were young, and, whether by the pride of being thought above it, or by the indolence of their inſtructors, or by what ever accident, have loſt the opportunity of that help to erudition, may yet ſee that they are not entirely loſt to the world and to them ſelves by the loſs, but that with applicacion and taking proper methods they may retreiv the great diſſadvantage they are under, and may ſtill maſter the moſt uſefull parts of knowleg and be yet good ſchollars to all the ends and purpoſes of learning, notwithſtanding[1] the loſs they have ſuſtain'd.

It is evedent by this example that all the ſciences may be taught in the Engliſh tongue; all phyloſophy whether of the Antients or Moderns may be, nay, much of it allready is, written in Engliſh; and many Engliſh gentlemen, men of learning and of the greateſt capaſcityes, who have firſt publiſh'd their labours in Latin have thought fitt to tranſlate them into Engliſh them ſelves and publiſh them again, for the making knowlege the more extenſiv and doing a generall good to the world. Thus we ſee Mr. Cambden's *Britannia*, Mr. Burnet's *Theory of the Earth*, and ſome other valuable things written firſt in Latin and made Engliſh by their authors being ſencible that there might be men of learning ſufficient for the reading and underſtanding thoſe very learned diſcourſes and accounts of things, which yet might not be maſters of the Latin ſo as to be able to read them in the originall with fluency and eaſe.

This is a teſtimony to the world that a man may be phyloſopher enough to underſtand, and judge of, the whole theory of the earth, which I might in that particular reſpect call the theory of Nature, and yet not be accquainted either with the Latin or the Greek; and this is the reaſon of my quoting Mr. Burnet. If he had not been aſſur'd of this, and that his work would be profitably underſtood by many judicious readers who could not underſtand it or perhaps not read it in
f. 113. the Latin tongue, he would not have taken the pains to have written it over again in Engliſh, and he gives a very good account of the reaſon of it in his introduccion to that elaborate work.

In his dedication to the late King William he has this extraordinary expression, which is directly to my preſent purpoſe and fully confirms my notion, that men may be ſchollars without Latin, and phyloſophers without Greek. His words are as follows; having first briefly deſcrib'd the ſubject he had written upon, he adds:

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[1] Abbreviated.

"Theſe[1] things, Sir, I propoſe and preſume to prove in the following treatiſe, which I willingly ſubmit to Your Majeſty's judgment and cenſur, being very well ſatisfied that if I had ſought a patron in all the liſt of kings, your contemporaries, or in the roll of your nobles of either order, I could not have found a more competent judge in a ſpeculation of this nature. Your Majeſty's ſagacity and happy genius for Natural Hiſtory, for obſervations and remarks upon the Earth, the Heavens, and the Sea, is a better preparation for inquiries of this kind then all the dead learning of the ſchools."

If then a naturall ſagacity and a happy genius quallifyes a man for obſervacions and remarks upon the hiſtorys of Nature and the ſyſtems of the Heavens and the Earth, then theſe things may be enquir'd into without the helps of languages and the uſe of tongues, and a man by the helps of Nature may be a compleat maſter of Naturall Phyloſophy, of Naturall Hiſtory, and in a word may be really a phyloſopher without the helps of the learned languages, and may be truly call'd a ſchollar without Latin or Greek.

In his introduccion, as above, he has alſo this farther expreſſion, which agrees ſo exactly with the thing I am reaſoning upon, that I could not omit the quotation. Like him I am far from depreciating the labour of the ſchools or running down the value of learning; but neither muſt we be ſuch bigots to the languages to wrap up all learning in their ſwadling cloths and determine the world to the bondage of their tyranny or to irretrievable ignorance. 'Tis the hight[1] of pedantry to confine learning to a *rule* and *ſcale*, out of the ſquare of which nothing is to be known, or to inſiſt that nothing that is known by meer nature ſhould be acknowleg'd valuable in the world. Mr. Burnet is very particular to this purpoſe. Thus this work being chiefly philoſophical, reaſon is to be our firſt guide.

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[1] This extract, ending with *learning of the ſchools*, is in a different handwriting.

"Neither[2] does it ſo much require book-learning and ſcholar-ſhip as good naturall ſence to diſtinguiſh true and falſ and to diſcern what is well proved and what is not. It often happens that ſcholaſtick education like a trade does ſo fix a man in a particular way, that he is not fit to judge of any thing that lyes out of that way, and ſo his larning becomes a clog to his natural parts, and makes him more undocile and more uncapable of improvments and new thoughts then thoſe that have only the talents of nature; as maſters of exerciſe had rather take a ſcholar that never learn'd before, than one that hath had a bad maſter, ſo generaly one would rather chooſe a reader without art, than one ill inſtructed with learning but opinionative and without judgment. Not that it is neceſſary they ſhould want either. Learning, well placed, ſtrengthens all the powers of the mind. To conclude, juſt reaſoning and a generous love of truth, whether with or without erudition, is that which maks us moſt competent judges of truth and makes it eaſie and plain to us."

From this truth and from ſo great a man ſome juſt inferences naturally ariſe in the caſe before me; (1) that as a meer knowlege of the tongues is not the ſum or ſubſtance of all learning, ſo without leſſening the value of that knowlege at all I am to add that the mind may be receptiv of much knowlege and be capable of true learning, and even larger degrees of it, as well in Natural Phyloſophy as in many other branches of Science, without what Mr. Burnet very juſtly calls the dead learning of the ſchools.

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[1] MS. *highth.*

[2] This quotation, too, is not written by Defoe.

2. That our gentry are in the wrong, who place their ignorance in generall to the account of their fathers in neglecting their education and not ſending them to ſchool; let the reaſons of that neglect be what they will for that: in ſpite of all that neglect and omiſſions they have it in their power to inſtruct themſelves in all manner of ſcience and humane knowlege, the meer ſimple knowlege of the tongues excepted.

All the Phyloſophy whether of the Antients or of the Moderns ſpeaks Engliſh to them; all the Mathematicks are taught in Engliſh; all the Geography, Geometrie, and the navigating arts ſpeak to them in Engliſh; many of the beſt ſyſtems of Natural Phyloſophy are publiſh'd in our mother tongue. What excuſe is the not being able to read ſome men's works againſt their reading others which are as good? What occaſion have they for the originals when they have unexcepcionable tranſlations? Let them but go thro' a courſe of Philoſophy, a courſe of Aſtronomy, Geography, Hiſtory, etc., as far as the Engliſh tongue will carry them; and let us ſee whether their knowlege of Phyloſophy and all the other ſciences will not denominate them ſchollars, or whether any man after that will venture to call them men without learning, ignorant, and untaught. I conclude therefore that, notwithſtanding[1] all the unhappy nocions of the gentry and ladyes in England that their ſons must not be ſent to ſchool, yet the eldeſt ſons in England, who are generally the ſufferers in this caſe, have no room to complain that *f.* 113*b.* they are ignorant and untaught, becauſe, if they are ſo, it muſt be their own faults and none other.

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[1] Abbreviated.

It may be true that their fathers and mothers deny'd them the *dead learning* of the tongues and that they were not taught as they ſhould and ought to have been when they were boys, and they have no knowlege of Latin or Greek; but Science and Phyloſophy are the ſtudyes of men, not of boys, neither are they any part of the learning of the grammar ſchooles. There's no time left for thoſe things, nor is the loſs of the learned languages any juſt obſtruccion to the accquirements of theſe kinds. The knowlege of Philoſophy may be obtain'd in a due method without them.

I once was accquainted with a tutor of unqueſtion'd reputacion for learning and who was himſelf a critick in the learned languages and even in all the oriental tongues, as the Syriac, Chaldee, Arabic, Hebrew; and none could object that he did it for want of ſkill, but being ſencible of the great defficiency I have been ſpeaking of, and how our gentlemen were dropt, as it were, out of the converſation of the learned world, he ſet up what he call'd an Engliſh Accademy.

He firſt publiſhed his juſt complaint againſt the ſchool learning and their locking up, as I have call'd it, all ſcience in the Greek and Latin, compelling all their pupils to learn the ſciences in thoſe languages or not at all, and to perform all their public exerciſes in Latin or Greek; by which means many young gentlemen, even the greateſt and beſt proficients in learning, as they underſtand the word, came finiſh'd, as they call'd it, out of their hands, and yet had no taſt of the Engliſh tongue, could neither expreſs themſelves fluently upon any ſubject or write elegantly in their mother tongue.

To rectifye this great miſtake of the ſchools, he ſet up his little Accademy, wherein he taught Phyſicks, that is to ſay, Natural Phyloſophy, with a ſyſtem of Aſtronomy as a ſeperate ſcience, tho' not excluſiv of the generall ſyſtem of Nature; he taught alſo Geography and the uſe of the maps and globes in a ſeperate or diſtinct claſs: in a word, he taught his pupils all the parts of accademick learning, except Medicine and Surgery. He alſo had a claſs for Hiſtory, eccleſiaſtic and civil. And all this he taught in Engliſh. He read his lectures upon every ſcience in Engliſh, and gave his pupils draughts of the works of Khiel and Newton and others, tranſlated; alſo he requir'd all the exerciſes and performances of the gentlemen, his pupils, to be made in Engliſh.

He had a claſs for eloquence, and his pupils declaim'd weekly in the Engliſh tongue, made orations, and wrot epiſtles twice every week upon ſuch ſubjects as he preſcrib'd to them or upon ſuch as they themſelves choſe to write upon. Sometimes they were ambaſſadors and agents abroad at forreign Courts, and wrote accounts of their negotiacions and recepcion in forreign Courts directed to the Secretary of State and ſome times to the Soveraign himſelf.

Some times they were Miniſters of State, Secretaries and Commiſſioners at home, and wrote orders and inſtruccions to the miniſters abroad, as by order of the King in Council and the like. Thus he taught his pupils to write a maſculine and manly ſtile, to write the moſt polite Engliſh, and at the ſame time to kno' how to ſuit their manner as well to the ſubject they were to write upon as to the perſons or degrees of perſons they were to write to; and all equally free and plain, without fooliſh flouriſhes and ridiculous flights of *f.* 114. jingling bombaſt in ſtile, or dull meaneſſes of expreſſion below the dignity of the ſubject or the character of the writer. In a word, his pupils came out of his hands finiſh'd orators, fitted to ſpeak in the higheſt preſence, to the greateſt aſſemlies,[1] and even in Parliament,[2] Courts of Juſtice, or any where; and ſeverall of them come came afterward to ſpeak in all thoſe places and capaſcityes with great applauſe.

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[1] I.e., *aſſemblies.*

[2] *P.*

It is my opinion that we greatly want ſuch an accademy at this time for the recovery of our younger gentry from that unhappy ignorance which the negligence of their opinionated anceſtors and inſtructors left them in, and which is occaſion'd by the groſſeſt and ſimpleſt of all fooliſh nocions, namely, that going to ſchool was inconſiſtent with their honour, and that learning was needleſs to a gentleman; that is, in ſhort, that a man of fortune was abov being a man of ſence, that it was an indignity for the child of a gentleman, the heir of the family, to be ſubject to the mechaniſme of letters and the diſcipline of teaching. I wonder indeed they would vouchſafe to let him be learnt to ſpeak or to kno' his letters, to learn his A B C, and to read Engliſh; which indeed ſome of them can hardly be ſaid to do.

The way of learning I am recommending would certainly retriev all this loſs and bring a gentleman to be a man of ſence, in ſpite of all the D . . . . has done to make him a fool, will accompliſh him in all the beauties of learning and oratory and make him be acknowleg'd for a man of learning even among the beſt and wiſeſt of men, and that without the learned languages, ſeeing they can not be had.

How many noble artiſts have we in the greateſt and beſt branches of the Mathematicks, (viz.) in Aſtronomy, in Geometry, in Arethmitick as well vulgar as decimal, in Algebra, in the doctrines of the Spheres, the uſe of the globes, the art of navigation, and in ſeverall other things, who kno' very little or nothing of the learned tongues.

Again how many gentlemen and travellers, merchants, and even ſeamen, that is to ſay, navigators or commanders of ſhips, are there at this time to be found who are men of generall knowlege, ſpeak and write ſeverall languages, as I may ſay, to perfeccion, and yet kno' nothing of the Latin or Greek: are none of theſe to be call'd ſchollars?

I had occaſion to be in the company of two merchants, even while I was writing this tract; (1) the one had liv'd 20 yeares in the northern and north eaſt parts of Europe in the Courts of Ruſſia and Poland, and he ſpoke the Ruſſian, the Sclavonian, and Poliſh tongues as now in uſe in Muſcovy, Poland, Tartary, and Hungary. Alſo he ſpoke the High Dutch, and that in the ſeverall dialects of Pruſſia, Danemark, and Sweden, and with all he ſpoke French as the common ſpeech at Court all over Europe, and, laſtly, he ſpoke Engliſh as his mother tongue: and yet this gentleman had no Greek or Latin.

2. The other was what we call a Turkey merchant, and had liv'd at Aleppo, at Conſtantinople, and at Grand Cairo. This gentleman, for ſuch he was by blood, tho' by his profeſſion a merchant, he ſpoke the Arabic in all its ſeverall dialects as ſpoken by the Turks at all thoſe places; for their language is certainly a generall Syriak and Arabic jargon, neither of them ſeperately. He ſpoke alſo Italian, French, Low Dutch and Engliſh, but neither Latin or Greek, except ſuch Greek as the people call'd Greeks now ſpeak in the Morea and at Zant, where he had alſo liv'd ſome time, but which, as he ſaid, did not deſerv to be call'd by the name of Greek.

Now, neither of theſe men in the language of our times were to be call'd ſchollars or men of learning, and yet they had ſeperately, and much more together, *f.* 115. ſuch a fund of knowlege of hiſtory, of perſons and things, of the intreſt of nacions, and of the languages of nations from one end of the known world to the other, that not a man of learning in Oxford or Cambridge but would have been delighted in their converſation,

tion, and would have eſteem'd them as living treaſuryes of knowlege and learning.

But ſuch is the vanity of the times, ſuch the humour or uſage of the day, that nothing but claſſic reading is call'd litterature; Homer and Virgil and Horace and Ovid, Livy and Saluſt, Cicero and Tacitus, theſe are, and ſuch as theſe are, in our modern acceptacion, are the founders of knowlege, and no man is learned without them; nay, unleſs he is maſter of the very letter, has them by heart, and can bring them out peice meal and in fragments in all his diſcourſe.

It is the vanity of this perticular kind that has brought it into a proverb to the ſcandal of our nation, that an Engliſhman has his mouth full of borrow'd phraſes, that he is allwayes borrowing other men's languages and quoteing other men's ſentences in Latin, but ſaies none of his own; not an author writes a pamphlet, not a poet a coppy of verſes, no, not to his miſtreſs, tho' ſhe knows nothing of the matter, but he draws a bill upon Horace or Virgil or ſome of the old chiming train, and talks as familliarly of them as if they had been brought up together.

And what is there in all their claſſic learning which is not made Engliſh or made French, by which, tho' the beauty of the verſe is not, and indeed can not, be preſerv'd, the ſubſtance of the author is convey'd to us either expreſſly or complexly and really and ſubſtantially, ſo that the gentlemen that can not be ſaid to have a taſt of them in the beauty of their originall languages can not however be ſaid to be wholly ignorant of them?

On the other hand 'tis evedent from what has been ſaid, that ſcience is generally unconcern'd[1] in them. A gentleman may go thro' a whole courſe of Phyloſophy whether natural or experimental; he may be a compleat maſter of the Hiſtory and Geography of the whole world; he may have ſurvey'd the whole abyſſe of learning and knowlege call'd the Mathematicks, and have ſearcht into every creek and corner of it, and yet have never open'd a book or read a line among the claſſicks.

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[1] MS. *un-cernd.*

He may have ſtudyed Divinity, practical and polemick, div'd into all the ſacred myſteries, and made himſelf maſter of all the controverſies, judg'd of all the heriſyes and doctrinal errors from Ebion and Cerinthus down to Toland and Emlin, and yet not have been concern'd among any of the Roman and Græcian heathen writers, nor have been able to have look'd over the Polyglott, the Septuagint, or the Talmud.

All theſe things have been laboriouſly tranſlated and faithfully rendred in the Engliſh tongue, and theſe tranſlations and rendrings have been ſo often and ſo dilligently reviſed and compar'd with the originals, that a dilligent and underſtanding Engliſh reader can not be ſaid to be at a loſs in underſtanding them and may be properly ſaid to be thoro'ly maſter of the true meaning of them.

It would be very hard with us all if it might not be ſaid that a good Chriſtian may fully underſtand the Scriptures, which are the greateſt and beſt and trueſt originall of all religious knowlege in the world, without being ſkilled in the originall Hebrew and Greek, in which thoſe ſacred books were firſt written. If then a man may be learned in all the wiſdome and knowlege of God ſo as to be a complete Chriſtian, and that without the knowlege of either Latin or Greek, I ſee no *f.* 116. reaſon to ſcruple ſaying he may be a complete phyloſopher or a complete mathematitian, tho' he has no ſkill in the learned languages.

The dilligence of the learned would hav chang'd this ſcene, and have made it poſſible by the helps of their labours and on the ſhoulders of their learning in tranſlating the antient and modern writings, that men may be really ſchollars and compleatly learned without knowing[1] the originalls by the meer reading and ſtudying thoſe tranſlacions. All that can be objected has been the fidelity of the tranſlators and the juſtice of the tranſlations, and this is to be anſwer'd for ſeverall ways.

Firſt, the character of the men as well for ſkill as reputacion.

Second, the criticall examination they have paſſ't in every age.

1. The character of the men; and here without giving a liſt of the tranſlators as well of the preſent as of the paſt ages, we may ſay their fidellity as well as their ſkill has this tryall, (viz.) that as they have been varyed by ſeverall hands, ſo they have generally agreed in giving the ſence of the authors they have tranſlated. What difference is among them is chiefly in the language of the tranſlation, the Engliſh ſtile having been ſaid to have[2] vary'd more between this age and the laſt 50 or 60 yeares than in a hundred yeares before.

I need not enter into particulars here or enquire into the differing manner of writeing: 'tis too well known by men of learning; and this may have been the reaſon why moſt of the Roman and Greek authours have ſuffr'd the hardſhip of ſeverall tranſlations; and even thoſe books which were tranſlated very well, nay beſt, in the laſt ages, have been done over again in this, and that, as we ſuppoſe, greatly to advantage, as Virgil, Juvenal, Ovid, Cæſar, Saluſt,[3] Livy and ſeverall others among the Latins, Plutarch, Herodotus, Homer, Seneca, Joſephus and others among the Greeks.

But in all thoſe tranſlacions, tho' the tranſlators have given us a differing taſt of their wit, learning, and good language, and the lateſt are eſteem'd the beſt, yet they all appear candid and genuine, giving the ſence of the authors ſincerely according to the ordinary underſtanding of the times, nor is there any conſiderable variation among them in matters of fact, which ſhew that they all purſued the deſign of tranſlators, honeſtly and uprightly.

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[1] MS. *kowing.*

[2] *have* is omitted in MS.

[3] MS. *Suluſt.*

Hence a man may be as well ſkill'd in all the Roman and Grecian hiſtory, to ſay nothing of the reſt, by reading theſe learned authors as they are tranſlated onely, as if he had been able to have examin'd them all by the originalls and had read them critically in the Latin and the Greek.

This being the caſe, then, no gentleman ought to throw up the point and grow deſperate becauſe he was not ſent to ſchool, as he ought to have been, in his childhood, and been made maſter of the learned languages in the time of it, ſeeing it is never too late; and he may ſtill form his genius with the ſublimeſt ſtudyes, and ſtore himſelf with all the learning neceſſary to make him a complete gentleman.

If he has not travell'd in his youth, has not made the grand tour of Italy and France, he may make the tour of the world in books, he may make himſelf maſter of the geography of the Univerſe in the maps, attlaſſes, and meaſurements of our mathematicians.[1] He may travell by land with the hiſtorian, by ſea with the navigators. He may go round the globe with Dampier and Rogers, and kno' a thouſand times more in doing it than all thoſe illiterate ſailors. He may make all diſtant places near to him in his reviewing the voiages of thoſe that ſaw them, and all the paſt and remote accounts preſent to him by the hiſtorians that have written of them. *f.* 117. He may meaſure the latitudes and diſtances of places by the labours and charts of thoſe that have ſurvey'd them, and know the ſtrength of towns and cityes by[2] the deſcripcions of thoſe that have ſtorm'd and taken them, with this difference, too, in his knowlege,

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[1] MS. *mathematicia.*

[2] MS. *be.*

lege, and infinitely to his advantage, viz., that thoſe travellers, voiagers, ſurveyors, ſoldiers, etc., kno' but every man his ſhare, and that ſhar but little, according to the narrow compaſs of their owne actings. But he recievs the idea of the whole at one view.

The ſtudious geographer and the well read hiſtorian travells with not this or that navigator or traveller, marches with not this or that generall, or making this or that campaign, but he keeps them all company; he marches with Hannibal over the Alps into Italy, and with Cæſar into Gaul and into Britain, with Beliſarius into Affric, and with the Emperor Honorius into Perſia. He fights the battle of Granicus with Alexander, and of Actium with Auguſtus; he is at the overthro' of the great Bajazette by Tamerlain, and of Tomombejus and his Mamaluks by Selymus; he ſees the battle of Lepanto, with the defeat of the Spaniſh Armada with Drake; with Adrian he views the whole Roman Empire and, in a word, the whole world; he diſcovers America with Columbus, conquers it with the great Cortez, and replunders it with Sir Francis Drake.

Nothing has been famous or valuable in the world, or even the ruines of it, but he has it all in his view; and nothing done in the world but he has it in his knowlege, from the ſeige of Jeruſalem to the ſiege of Namure, and from Titus Veſpaſian to the greater King William: he has it all at the tip of his tongue.

Nor are theſe ſtudyes profitable onely and improving, but delightfull and pleaſant too to the laſt degree. No romances, playes, or diverting ſtoryes can be equally entertaining to a man of ſence; nay, they make a man be a man of ſence; they give him a taſt who had none before; they teach him how to reliſh ſuperior knowlege as he looks up to the heavenly bodyes, whoſe mocions he learns to underſtand in his aſtronomicall readings; he is charm'd with the harmony of the ſyſtem and with ſeeing their direct, as well as retrograde mocions conform exactly with the calculacions of them by books.

When he ſees the ecclypſes, conjunccions, and oppoſitions of the plannets, thoſe ſolemn teſtimonyes of the verity of Aſtronomy, happen exactly in time and quantity, ſituacion, and degree, I ſay exactly to the moment foretold by the artiſts, he is fir'd with deſires of ſearching farther into the glorious circle of wonders, the hemiſphere, the arch of which appeares continually revolving in the moſt beautifull order, exactly as deſcrib'd by his Ephimeris[1] and as he can read it upon the celeſtial globe.

He has the like delightfull view of the terreſtrial[2] globe when reading all the moſt antient, as well as modern hiſtories of the world; he can turn to his maps and ſee the very ſpot where every great accion was done, however remote either in place or in time. Every ſcene of glory is there ſpread before him, from the great overthro' of Senacharib's army at the gates of Samaria, or from the defeat of the Ethiopian army of a thouſand thouſand to the yet more well fought battles of Leipſick, Blenheim, and Malplaquet.

How agreeable a diverſion is it to him to read the public prints with his colleccion of maps and charts before him, where he can ſee the Britiſh Squadron blocking up the Spaniſh[3] Plate Fleet at Porto Belo, and imediately turn his eye and ſee another Britiſh Squadron, awing the Ruſſian Navy at Revell and Narve, and they, tho' double in number, not daring to put to ſea to ſuccour the Spaniards.[3] The next moment he has turn'd over a leaf, and the like chart preſents Gibraltar to his view, and the Spaniards battering themſelves to peices inſtead of the town, and waſting their army in a fruitleſs, unſkillfull ſeige without ſo much as comeing near enough to draw a ſword in the whole war. There alſo he ſees another Engliſh Squadron keeping the ſeas open and convoying troops *f.* 118. and relief dayly to the place and aſſiſting that one ſmall town in overmatching all the forces of Spain,[1] whether by land or by ſea.

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[1] MS. *Ephineris.* [2] MS. *terreſtial.* [3] *S.*

When armies march or fleets ſail he can trace them with his eye, ſee all their mocions, and ſome of them even before they are begun, can tell where they are to day, and make a probable judgement where they will be to morrow.

I might enlarge experimentally upon the delightfull ſearch into naturall hiſtory and the rarityes diſcover'd daily in the vegitativ world, like wiſe into experimental as well as naturall phyloſophy the moſt agreeable as well as profitable ſtudy in the world.

All theſe things lye before him ; he may turn his head to them as he ſees fit ; his having been abuſed in his child-hood and not having been ſent to ſchool may preſent nothing diſcouraging to him for theſe are the ſtudyes of men, not of boys. The ladyes can not put him off of them by ſaying they are below his birth ; for theſe are improvments for gentlemen, not mechanicks, nay, even for the higheſt rank of men.

But to go farther yet, the inquiries and improvments of this kind are fitted for the brighteſt genius, the moſt clear underſtanding, the moſt diſcerning heads ; men exalted in their curious ſearch after knowlege above the ordinary ſort of people look into ſuch things as theſe. The king himſelf might glory in the accquirement, nor is it beneath the dignity of an emperor to underſtand them.

How weak then is it for a gentleman to ſit down in a ſtate of ignorance and indolence, on pretence of his having loſt his firſt teachings of the ſchools. Theſe are ſtudyes not to be begun till thoſe claſſic inſtruccions are over, and may be ſet about and maſtr'd, tho' thoſe teachings had been wholy omitted.

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[1] *S.*

I could giv many more examples of the ſuccefs of theſe *Poſt Entries*, as they might be call'd, in learning, and of the eaſyneſs of gentlemen in making the happy attempt upon themſelves: I ſhall however, for the preſent, content my ſelf with what has been ſaid, onely adding one thing, which I think is particularly remarkable and which may be depended upon, (viz.) that ſuch voluntary ſtudents, ſuch gentlemen, who thus being ſencible of the deficiency of their educacion have applyed themſelves by a voluntary ſtudy to recover the loſs, make a ſwifter progreſſion by many degrees than thoſe who are taught young and under the diſcipline of pædagogues and domineering maſters, who think to drive Greek and Latin into them with a beetle and wedges, as men clear blocks, and who, in a word, ſpoil as many ſchollars as they make.

On the contrary, here, beſides the difference of yeares, a man learns by choice, knows ſomething of the uſe of what he learns, and more of the want of it, before he begins. He reads as hungry men eat, not with the guſt, appetite onely, but with a ſence of profit and under the anguiſh of neceſſity. He knows what it is to be without knowlege, and is eager to take it in; and what is ſtill beyond all, he will be as eager to retain it.

'Tis a pleaſure to teach thoſe that make it a pleaſure to learn; he that reads thus, teaches himſelf and learns from himſelf; an inſtructor has little more to do than to tell him what books he ſhall read, and anſwer ſuch enquiries as he ſhall make. The gentleman that reads will neceſſarily inſtruct himſelf, he needs only a tutor like a *Lexicon Technicum* to be at his hand to reſolve difficultyes, explain terms, and ſtate the world to him as it comes in his way.

Let him no more afflict himſelf, then, at the loſt houres of his child-hood. 'Tis a loſs indeed and, as it *f.* 119. were, a ſetting him back in point of time, and 'tis a loſs of the tongues. Don't leſſen it as if it were no injury to him; but 'tis no ſuch injury but it may be repair'd. He may recover the greateſt and moſt fatal part of the loſs; he may maſter all the polite part of learning; he is fully quallifyed for the ſtudy of Nature; he may maſter all thoſe branches of ſcience in which reaſon is the guide and Nature the book; he may, in a word, be every thing which a gentleman need to be, and kno' every thing that a gentleman need to kno' and that is neceſſary to deliver him from the ſcandal of being ignorant and untaught.

As to the advantages[1] which the meer knowlege of the tongues may be to ſuch a gentleman ſo taught, they need take up none of our time here. There are ſeverall things which would recomend the uſe of the languages to us; and if they were learnt in their ſeaſon, it would be in its kind a great addition; but to talk as if a man could have no complete knowlege without them is to carry their rate much higher than the intrinſick worth,[2] as a man may value his gold, at £10 an oz. when 'tis not worth above four.

Nor is Latin and Greek of ſo high a price as it has been in the world of litterature; as when our American collonies were firſt diſcovred, the drugs, the furs, the ſugars, nay, even the tobacco were of three times the value they are at now; but by large importacions and doubling the cultivacion and bringing other plants and drugs from other parts, and which, perhaps, ſerv to the ſame uſes, the rate is fallen, and they are not ſo eſtem'd as before.

We find the Moderns begin to gain upon the Antients extremely, and ſome parts of knowlege ſhine brighter in

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[1] MS. *advantage.*

[2] *worth* not in MS.

Engliſh than ever they did in Latin. Our phyloſophers have exploded the Ancients in many things, ſuch as in the mocion of the heavenly bodyes,[1] the uſe of the magnet, and the improvements of navigacion, which are all modern, and ſeverall other things; likewiſe the circulacion of the blood in phyſickal experiments, and abundance of modern experiments not to be nam'd with the other; likewiſe the improvments in the mathematicks, fortificacion, incampments, intrenchings, millitary diſcipline, beſeiging and defending towns, in all which and many other the knowlege and experience of the preſent age is infinitely beyond what ever went before them.

Now all theſe ſtudyes are made in the Engliſh tongue, and are neceſſarily to be receiv'd there, and in no other. Greek and Latin has nothing to do with it, nor are ſome of the beſt maſters in theſe uſefull parts of knowlege accquainted with them.

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[1] Over *h. b.* is written *New Philoſophy.*

f. 120.

CAP. VI.

Of the gentleman's government of himſelf, his family and fortune.

I. *Of the government of himſelf.*

IF the gentleman we are treating of can not govern himſelf, how ſhould we expect any good[1] œconomy in his houſehold? how ſhall he direct his family or mannage his fortune? and why is it that we ſee ſo many good familyes ſink in the world and both their eſtates and poſterity ſuffer an irecoverable decay but for want of this neceſſary thing call'd œconomy or good[1] government and mannagement of the family? Where can the neglect or omiſſion of it all lye but in the head of the family? Who we find too often letting the reins looſe to his vices or at beſt to his pleaſures, thinks it below him to mind his other affaires, either to regulate his family or to mannage and improv his eſtate.

Let us conſider theſe three heads apart. *The gentleman's government of himſelf.* It muſt be confeſſ't there is a great, I had allmoſt ſaid an univerſall, defficiency among our gentlemen in the government of themſelves; their moralls and manners are deprav'd and vitiated in a manner hardly to be deſcrib'd, at leaſt not fully. Whether this generall depravity of manners is more the cauſe of the defect of education or the conſequence of it, is not eaſily determin'd; but 'tis manifeſt that it works both wayes, tho' with different effects, as in the father 'tis the cauſe why the ſon is not well taught and inſtructed, and in the ſon 'tis the effect of his father's not inſtructing him.

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[1] Abbreviated.

Firſt, his vicious, debauch't father omited the inſtructing or inducting his ſon; the uninſtructed, untaught ſon grows vicious and debauch't, becauſe he is untaught and uninſtructed in the wayes of wiſdome and knows not the beauty and excellency of learning and of virtue. In a word, ignorance is the ſeed of levity, and a fool turns proffligate by the meer deprivation of wit; the weakneſs of his moralls derives from the weakneſs of his head, and he follows mean and ſcandalous vice from his meer ignorance of virtue and true wiſdome.

In conſequence of this, when he comes to have a family of his own, he does the ſame, and his heir ſucceeds to the miſtakes as well as the eſtate of the family. The ſame increaſe of ignorance and decay of virtue follow from the ſame fund of naturall depravity. Thus vice begets ignorance, and ignorance nurſes up wickedneſs in the meer courſe of things. 'Tis all cauſe and conſequence, meer nature, and it can be no otherwiſe. The alternativ is as neceſſary, and ſucceeds to it ſelf as naturally as light and dark, death and life; *f.* 122. where one precedes, the other muſt ſuccede, it can not be otherwiſe. How hard it is that Nature ſhould thus tye us up to the fatal conſequence that becauſe I am a ſot my ſon muſt be a fool! If I am wicked and vile for my ſelf, it is nothing but to my ſelf, and when I am gone the world is well rid of me. But to think I ſhould entail a deſcent of folly and vice, ignorance and wickedness, upon my whole poſterity, that I ſhould bring a race of fools into the line, and that they ſhould go on curſing me, the great progenitor of all their wicked gradacions, and that there ſhould be an[1] alternate ſucceſſion of fool and and knav in all my generacions for a hundred ages to come: this indeed is very mortifying; that I, becauſe I am indolent and debauch't, muſt beget an ignorant ſon, he not knowing better leaves his heir like his anceſtor, indolent and a deſpiſer of that learning he was never taught to value; from which he runs on to the ſame exceſs of ſloth and ignorance that I was wrapt up in at firſt. Thus wickedneſs ſucceeds Hell; and Hell, wickedneſs, take it which way you pleaſe.

f. 121. I might very profitably enlarge here upon the neceſſity the compleat gentleman is under in the government of himſelf, to regard his moralls and that the generall part of his perſonall conduct ſhould denominate him a man of virtue in meer compaſſion to his poſterity; but it would be too tedious a digreſſion. Allow me, however, to recommend it with relation to himſelf perſonally.

It is a great miſtake to ſay that a proffligate, vicious life is conſiſtent with a compleat gentleman; virtue is ſo far from being below the quallity of a gentleman, or even of a nobleman, that ſtrictly ſpeaking a man can not be truly noble or compleatly a gentleman without it; and tho' I were to take no notice of religion in this diſcourſe, but confining my ſelf to thoſe we call morall virtues onely, yet the thing is true in the moſt abſtracted ſence. A gentleman giving himſelf a looſe in all manner of vice and extravagance, what is he to be eſteem'd in life? how can he be call'd a gentleman without making a juſt excepcion for his ill government of himſelf?

We have frequent examples of this in the ordinary acceptacion of a gentleman, where nothing is more frequent than to ſay ſuch a nobleman or ſuch a gentleman

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[1] MS. *a ſucceſſion alternate*, corrected to *a alt. ſucc.*

man is a very fine perſon, has a thouſand good quallityes, but he is this, but he is that, mencioning ſome immorallitie, ſome impropriety, which he unhappily mingles with his character, and then they conclude, what pity it is that ſuch a fine gentleman, ſuch a noble perſon, ſuch an extraordinary man ſhould ſully his character in ſuch a manner. Perhaps, it is a miſtreſs or two, perhaps an open profeſſ't atheiſme, perhaps a habit of ſwearing, or that he is given to exceſſiv drinking, perhaps violently paſſionate, or the like. His favourite vice is allwayes brought in as an excepcion to his character otherwiſe unſpotted.

On the contrary, we never find a gentleman's being ſober, modeſt, wiſe, religious, temperate, learned, virtuous, I ſay, we never find theſe brought in as excepcions againſt, but as ornaments of, and addicions to, his character, and as things which in the univerſall opinion of mankind ſerv to illuſtrate and brighten his fame. Even the men of crime themſelves, who want the virtues which addorn his character, will recognize the value and beauty of them in the virtuous gentleman, and frequently reproach themſelves with the want of them, like Baalim wiſhing to dye the death of the righteous.

It muſt remain upon record in honour of the memory of the late Queen Ann that Her Majeſtie uſ'd to ſay ſhe thought there was not a better lecture of morallity to be read in the world, than might be read in the viſible differences between the meer figure or appearance of a gentleman or noble-man of virtue and a rake of the ſame quallity as they ordinaryly ſhew'd themſelves at Court, and that they might be read at firſt ſight.

I muſt therefore lay it down as one of the moſt neceſſary accompliſhments of a compleat gentleman that he takes an eſpeciall care of his moralls; that he takes good principles into his family as his eſpeciall favourites and domeſticks; that he guard his virtue with the uttmoſt caution and care; and that he never thinks it below him to be eſteem'd as a man of modeſty, ſobriety and temperance, nor a man of religion too, as things without which his character will be allwiſe markt with an aſteriſme or * when it is mencion'd in converſacion, having an excepcion allways attending his good name and allways mencioned with him in company.

f. 121 *b.* If the unhappy gentleman has been ill taught or untaught, the thing I have been repreſenting as the firſt miſsfortune in his houſe and eſpecially in himſelf, let him conſider that defect as the firſt to be repair'd; and he has this for his encouragement, that this part is to be recover'd without a teacher. No man need be taught to abandon his vices and reform his manners, as Nature will dictate one part of it, conſcience will dictate the other. He wants nothing but to be convinc't that it ought to be done; and it would be needleſs to preach moralls to him any long time. Let him but appeal to himſelf, and he will find teachers in his own breaſt, that will tell him it is not onely neceſſary to be done, but eaſie alſo, and that without it he not onely is ruin'd himſelf, but his poſterity alſo.

For take him in the meer ſtate of nature, as I may call it, namely juſt as he came out of his ignorant, immorall father's hands, that is to ſay, uneducated, uninſtructed, and conſequently fooliſh, wild, vicious, and immorall: how unhappily, but unavoidably, unleſs thus prevented, does he propogate ignorance and vice, and hand them down from his anceſtors to his poſterity by the meer courſe of humane generacion!

f. 122. But now to return to my argument. How ſhall the gentleman govern himſelf? As we learn ſpeech from the imitacion of our forefathers, ſo, in a word, we learn vice or virtue from the like imitacion. We ſee the method of the family has been to entail ignorance and immorallity upon the race; and how ſhall that race ſo initiated introduce the practiſe of virtue?

The example is layd down in the foregoing chapter. If the gentleman who thus had the diſſaſter of a vicious introduccion into life, abandon'd to ignorance without education and without inſtruccion, comes by meer Providence[1] or ſence, call it what you will, to ſee his own defficiency and to be virtuouſly inclin'd, tho' whence it ſhould come is ſome thing hard to ſay, but if it ſhould happen ſo, the way is lin'd out for him: let him ſett about the work of informing and inſtructing himſelf with ſuch helps and ſuch aſſiſtance as I have ſaid abov may be had as well from books as from men of learning, and 'tis evedent from experience and from the example I have given that the caſe may be retriev'd and the want of early teaching be very much repair'd, if not fully ſupply'd; for, in a word, tho' the defects of parents and the want of early inſtruccion is great, yet 'tis wilfull ignorance and obſtinate contempt of, and averſion to, learning, that is in generall the ſin of the day.

That our gentlemen are illiterate and untaught is true; but 'tis as true that where there is one gentleman who complains of it and thinks himſelf the worſe for it, there are 20 that boaſt of it, value themſelves upon it, think their ignorance ſits well upon their quallity, and that contemn the men of letters and books as below them and not worth their regard; who think learning unfaſhionable, and, at beſt, uſeleſs to them, and that to write their names is enough for men of fortunes, that they have nothing to do but ſit ſtill and enjoy the world and roll in the abundance of it, that the reſt is all buſſineſs and buſtle, that 'tis below them and not worth their notice.

This pride, however prepoſterous and however inconſiſtent with common ſence, is the ruin of the Engliſh gentry *f.* 123.

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[1] Abbreviated.

gentry at this time ; for tho' the ignorance it ſelf is a criminal folly and admits of no excuſe, but that unhappy one of laying it upon their fathers, yet valuing themſelves upon it and perſiſting in it as a matter of choice, is ſtil worſe. Ignorance is a crime in it ſelf, but obſtinate, affected and reſolv'd ignorance is tenfold more criminal. To be untaught and to have our education neglected is one thing ; but to boaſt of it, value our ſelves upon it and, in a word, to chooſe it, is another ; to be uneducated is a miſsfortune, to chooſe to be ſo is a folly : but to boaſt of being ſo is the *Devil.*

Now let us look a little into the family of this ſelf-wiſe, but uneducated creature. We are to ſuppoſe he is the head of the houſe and on that account ought to be the beſt governed thing in it ; but how does he behave ? Directly contrary to an extrem in every capaſcity, without government, without rule, ignorant and obſtinately ſo.

1. Take him *as a maſter :* he is haughty, imperious, and tyrannick, or elce ſoft, eaſie, and capable of being wheedl'd, impoſ'd upon and drawn in by every ſharper and into every bubble, till firſt he is expoſ'd and then undone.

2. *As a huſband :* he is froward, ſurly, humorous, and uneaſy, teizing every body and perplexing himſelf, unconſtant in temper, untractable, poſitiv, and wants every thing that denominates a gentleman to be a man of ſence ; in a word, as a fool is certainly the worſt of huſbands, ſo an illiterate, untaught, concieted, ſelf opinionate huſband is the worſt of fools.

3. *As a father :* Fatal relativ ! Here he is cut out to have his children curſe him ; he neither knows how to be a father, nor how to teach them to be children ; he breeds them up to deſpiſe him, and yet to imitate him. They can learn nothing good from him, and what's bad

they are ſure to have his example for. As he contemns the learning he wants, he is ſure to let his children want the learning he contemns. He educates his ſons at the ſtable door, inſtead of the Grammar School, and his huntſman is Head Tutor; he teaches them to ſwear with a particular applicacion, and his own valuable example is their introduccion; his daughters are bred at the aſſembly and at the card table, and the Quadrill is the hight of their accquir'd knowlege. He entails vice and ignorance upon his eldeſt ſon in honour to his primogeniture, and if he does giv his younger ſons a little clergy, 'tis meerly to put them off with a few letters inſtead of an appenage, and giv them a grammar for a porcion.

4. Take him *in publick ſtacion*, ſuppoſe as a magiſtrate in the country. He makes a tollerable juſtice, becauſe he has little or nothing comes before him. If he is plac'd where buſſineſs comes in, he gets a better learn'd clark, and leaves the matter to him, and the warrant money is his wages, ſo makeing good the old proverb *that the clark makes the juſtice*, while the maſter does juſt nothing.

5. Take him *at London*, that is to ſay, at Court. If he has the honour to be ſent up to Parliament, he enters himſelf among the *dead weight* of the Houſe, makes one of Sir T. Ha . . . r's 50, and does juſt what other men bid him. If he has wit enough to get in for a little ſecret ſervice money, 'tis the hight of his *f.* 124. attainment; but 'tis much oftner that he is made a property without it, being every way quallify'd for that advanc'd poſt in nature, *a fool for nothing* and *a fool gratis.* If he gets a penſion, he comes readily into all ſchems and meaſures, his part being excellently well ſuited to his capaſcity; for he has nothing to do but to follow as he is led, and ſay *Ay* and *No*, juſt as they bid him. When he goes home from London, he may

be truly ſaid to have ſold himſelf (that is, his country) and run away with the money.

Enough of a fool. Now let us view his contrary, who this foil ſerves to illuſtrate. *The compleat gentleman* is the reverſe of all this. As he governs himſelf by the rules of vertue and good ſence, ſo his family appeares diſtinguiſh't among all the families about him for their excellent order, their generall and particular conduct under his government.

His conjugal life is all harmony and muſick, peace and joy; tenderneſs and affeccion are the ſum of their united enjoyment.

She knows no felicity but what ſhe finds in him, and he centers his uttmoſt ſatiſfaction in her. She is compleatly[1] happy in him, and he is compleatly happy in her. If ſuitable ſocyety is a heavenly life, 'tis here in the uttmoſt perfeccion that humane affairs can produce; for here every thing appeares agreeable in it ſelf and to one another.

From this conjugal harmony all the beauty of a Heaven upon earth is to be ſeen. Every ſtacion of life is fill'd up. Virtue and honour diffuſes their luſtre thro' every ſcene of life, and fill up every relation. He is, in conſequence of this excellent conduct, the beſt father, the beſt maſter, the beſt magiſtrate, and the beſt neighbour; in a word, he is a bleſſing to his family, to his country, and to himſelf; he is kind to all, belov'd by all, has the prayers of all; the rich honour him, the poor bleſs him, vice trembles at him, and none but the devil envyes or hates him.

Let us look back that, upon *the government of himſelf* in particular, he is frugal without avarice, mannaging without rigor, humble without meanneſs, and great without haughtyneſs; he is pleaſant without levity, grave without affectacion; if he has learning, his knowledge is without pedantry and his parts without pride; modeſty and humility govern him, and he applyes his learning purely to do good to others and to inſtruct himſelf farther in the good government of himſelf.

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[1] MS. *compleaty.*

If thro' the error of cuſtome his father left him unfiniſh'd and he loſt the bleſſing of a liberal educacion, he ſees the miſtake with a ſecret grief, and accordingly applyes himſelf with the uttmoſt dilligence to retriev the loſs and finiſh himſelf; and in particular, he follows Solomon's rule, he *ſeeks after knowlege as for ſilver, and ſearches for her as for hid treaſure*, Prov: 11, 4. In a word, he labours for improvment with an unwearied applicacion, and never gives over the purſuit of it till he has compleatly fitted himſelf for converſation and for appearing in the world as a compleat gentleman.

II. *Of the government of his children.*

Take him next in his family capaſcity; for he fills up every relativ ſtacion. If he has children,[1] his principal *f.* 125. care is their educacion; the knowlege he had of his own defect and of the loſs he ſuſtain'd by the miſtake of his father in neglecting his education fills him with a happy anxiety for the timely inſtruccion of his eldeſt ſon; and it is obſervable that he takes a particular care of *his* learning for that very reaſon for which other gentlemen diſpiſe it, namely, becauſe he is a gentleman and becauſe he is to be the heir. He ſees how glorious a thing learning is to a man of quallity and what a luſtre it adds to his family; how well it becomes him in every figure he makes in life; how it ſets off his other virtues, as fine jewells ſet off a beautifull face.

For the reſt, he reſolves his children ſhall not curſe the memory of their father either for waſting their patrimony or ſtarving their genius. He is as carefull to fill their heads as their pockets and to fit them for the world in every ſtacion of life which fate may determine for them.

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[1] Abbreviated.

To this purpoſe he very early cauſes his ſons, the eldeſt as well as the reſt, to ſubmit to diſcipline and to kno' the reaſon and nature of government and ſubordination, as well family government as national. He inculcates as early as poſſible good principles into their minds that ſo they may become good Chriſtians,[1] as alſo modeſty, humillity, and every branch of good moralls into their heads, in order to fitt them for a life ſuitable to their birth, and that they may be made good men as well as good gentlemen, making it the ſtated, eſtabliſh't foundation of all good inſtruccion that *Manners makes the Man* and that modeſty and virtue and humillity are the brighteſt ornaments of a gentleman.

After he has eſtabliſh't them in an early lov of virtue and in earneſt deſires after knowlege, he then ſtores their heads gradually and in its due order with all kinds of uſefull learning, diſtinguiſhing them in the manner of their inſtruccion as Nature has directed. The eldeſt ſon is allways regarded as the eldeſt ſon, even in the manner of his ſchool government, and yet with due government alſo; and this is carry'd on to all the needfull degree of learning as ſuites their capaſcityes and as they will take it in. As they advance in learning, the eldeſt ſon eſpecially is remov'd from the ſchools to the college, where he cauſes him to finiſh his ſtudyes in a manner ſuitable to what he is and is to be. There he goes thro' a courſe of phyſicks, I mean phyloſophy, not medicin; for he is to be a gentleman, not a doctor,[2] a profficient, not a graduate; having gone thro' a courſe of aſtronomy, geography, hiſtory, and ſuch other parts of needfull knowlege as are peculiar beauties in the life of a gentleman, he furniſhes him with a proper perſon experienc'd for the purpoſe, in whoſe agreeable and improving converſacion he finiſhes him with the advantage of travell, and thus he comes out into the world a compleat gentleman.

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[1] MS. *X.*

[2] *D^r.*

To return to the father, his next care is of his younger ſons; and to theſe he is ſure alſo to giv the uttmoſt ſtore of learning ſuited to their reſpectiv genius and inclination, and ſo to prepare them for what ever figure or ſtacion in life they ſhall turn their thoughts *f.* 126. to, whether to the Church, the Law, the Court, the Camp, the Fleet, or whatever other thing ſuitable to their quallity and conſiſtent with a life of virtue and good ſence they ſeem inclin'd to; withall not forgetting by the well mannaging his own fortune to make ſuch proviſion for his younger children, the collateral branches of his family, as that they may not be turn'd looſe to make their fortunes by neceſſity and wander thro' the world *ubi fata vocant;* but that they may have their proper figure to make in the ſtacion he ſhall leav them without diſgracing his family, depending upon, and incumbring, the heir, or hanging about the Court for bread, the moſt ſcandalous of all human dependencies.

Thus he does not ſtarv his younger ſons to eſtabliſh the family in the heir, nor embarras the heir and load his eſtate to ſupport and provide for his younger children; but all have a proporcion'd bleſſing from the provident father to keep up their figure as his children and to place them in the world independent of one another.

The like he does by his daughters, if he has any or many; and tho' it is true a numerous family will make a kind of a depredacion upon an eſtate, however large it may be and however prudent the head of the houſe may be, yet a wiſe and well mannaging father begins his concern for them ſo ſoon by retrenching moderately his own expences and even the manner of his living, that he enables himſelf to provide ſuitable fortunes for the young ladyes, and this without abating any of the neceſſary parts of their educacion or of their ornaments, equipages, etc.; for there are allwayes ſo many leſs neceſſary things in the figure of a great family, which may be retrench'd and abated ſilently and unperciev'd, that the prudent head of the houſe will not be oblig'd to abate thoſe neceſſary things without which the credit of the family can not be ſupported or by which the educacion of the children may be neglected or the inheritance of the heir leſſen'd or incumbr'd.

Under this good government of himſelf and family the compleat gentleman proceeds in the moſt happy and ſuccefsfull manner to eſtabliſh his family, direct his affaires and to introduce his children[1] into the world with all poſſible advantage, well furniſh'd, well finiſh'd, and compleat like himſelf, till at laſt he leaves the family growing in wealth and reputacion by his example, and himſelf ſleeps with his fathers like old King David full of dayes, riches, and honour.

III. *Of the government of his eſtate.*

I come now to the government of his fortune or eſtate. Next to the firſt and great miſtake among our gentry of which I have ſpoken at large, viz., that it is below the quallity of a gentleman of fortune to meddle with learning and books, the next and in its kind as prepoſterous, and ſometimes as fatall, is this, viz., that it is below them alſo to audit their own accounts, let their own lands, mannage their own revenues, or, in ſhort, to look after their eſtates. Unhappy and miſerable pride! the never failing way to poverty and diſgrace! What havock has this abſurd Spaniſh temper made among our nobillity and gentry! How many flouriſhing woods has it cut down! How many manours has it par'd off from the inheritance! How many entails has it dock't, that is, cut off from the familyes! In a word, how has it brought the ſtewards to be richer *f.* 127. than the lords, the bailyes than the gentlemen! and how many flouriſhing eſtates are at this very day runing to ruine, and the familyes who poſeſſ't them to decay, under the miſerable conſequences of this fatally indolent temper.

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[1] Abbreviated.

It is true, this unhappy thoughtleſs cuſtome is not the ſame every where, nor is it carry'd up to ſuch a hight in all familyes; yet there is a degree of it to be found allmoſt every where; and it ſhows it ſelf remarkably in this generall, viz., the new faſhion'd and prevailing extravagance[1] and expenſiv living, which at this time runs allmoſt thro' all the familyes of the gentry, not conſidering or, at leaſt, not ſufficiently conſidring whether their expence out-runs their income or no, or what proporcion their yearly payments bear to their anual rent. This is in ſhort the ſame thing which, as above, I call *not auditing their own account.*

Now, without entring into a full enquiry into all the fatal conſequences of this ill mannagement, this, in ſhort, is the generall effect of it, namely, that at this time if you take the familyes of the meaner gentry (eſpecially) all over England you will find a great part of them, I might ſay the moſt of them, are allwayes in neceſſitous circumſtances,[2] bare of money, borrowing rather than lending, and what we ordinary expreſs by an apt, tho' courſe Engliſh ſaying, *they are run behind hand*

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[1] Over *extravagance*, Defoe has written *luxury*. [2] Abbreviated.

hand; in the country you have it in a ſtill courſer way of ſpeaking, viz., *they are out at heels.*

By the meaner gentry here I would be underſtood to mean thoſe familyes of gentlemen as have eſtates from £500 a year and under, to £100 or 200 a year, and yet liv wholly upon thoſe eſtates without what we call employment or buſſineſs; for of ſuch we have other things to ſay.

Of theſe familyes the generall circumſtance is ſuch as this:—

1. The gentlemen are often times of very good houſes of antient deſcent, ally'd to ſeverall other familyes, perhaps of the ſame name but of ſuperior fortune, to ſome by intermarriages, ſome by imediate relacion, collateral branches, younger brothers, and the like, and perhaps intimate by the accidents of neighbourhoods and the like; all which circumſtances[1] oblige the gentlemen, or at leaſt the family, to an extraordinary expenſiv living in dreſs, equipages, ſervants and dependences, treats, entertainments, houſe-keeping, &c., moſtly upon the weak and fooliſh pretence that they may, as 'tis call'd, look like other people.

2. This extraordinary way of living muſt neceſſarily exhauſt their ſubſtance, being, as is ſuppoſ'd, abov the income of their revenue; all which tends as naturally to poverty, as a conſumcion of the vitals in the[2] humane body tends to death. It is a certain axiom in matters of this nature that every wiſe mannager will proportion his *layings-out* to his *comings-in*, ſo as that allways he may lay up ſome thing. He that ſpends but one hundred pounds a year leſs than his eſtate brings in, muſt grow *f.* 128. rich of courſe, as naturally as that he that ſpends £100 a year more than his income muſt certainly be poor.

From this unhappy cuſtome of living abov themſelves, which at this time more than ever prevails among our gentry, it comes to paſs that, as I ſaid abov, almoſt all the gentry in England of moderate eſtates are kept low and in neceſſitous circumſtances.[1] I do indeed place it chiefly upon the claſs of familyes from £500 a year downward, and I believ it is more generally ſo among the gentry of that rank. But I am told I need not confine my ſelf to them, for that it is ſo (with a very few excepcions) even to the gentry of the greateſt eſtates, lords, earles, and dukes, of which many examples might be given, if I would make the ſatyr perſonal and bring examples of particular people; but that is no part of my preſent deſign.

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[1] Abbreviated.

[2] *the* is left out in MS.

I return to thoſe I call the meaner gentry; their caſe is thus. Suppoſe a gentleman of £400 to 500 a year eſtate, and ſuppoſe him living in the country upon the eſtate and in the manſion houſe upon the ſpot, the antient ſeat of the family to which he has or has not a park adjoyn'd, and other uſuall advantages as it may happen.

His firſt advantage is that he payes no rent, that his park having ſome meddow grounds within the pale, few parks are without it, affords him graſs and hay for his coach horſes and ſaddle horſes, which goes alſo a great way in the expence of the family; beſides that, he has veniſon perhaps in his park, ſufficient for his own table at leaſt, and rabbits in his own warren adjoyning, pidgeons from a dove houſe in the yard, fiſh in his own ponds or in ſome ſmall river adjoyning and within his own royalty, and milk with all the needfull addenda to his kitchen, which a ſmall dary of 4 or 5 cows yields to him.

All theſe are vaſt helps in houſekeeping to a frugal family, and giv my lady, *his Mayor Domo*, opportunity to keep a very good houſe upon very reaſonable terms, and which, if the gentleman was inclin'd to mannage with prudence, would go a great way towards living comfortably.

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[1] Abbreviated.

But let us look a little within doors. Perhaps the lady, as a late author has it, having *bred* in her young dayes like a tame pigeon, they have now a ſtock of children 2 ſons and 4 daughters, and theſe are now grown up. The eldeſt ſon writes gentleman, and he muſt appear as ſuch in the country. He has his ſervant and a couple of hunters, and he follows his ſport with his neighbours either with his father's hounds, if he keeps a pack of dogs, or if not, with the next gentleman that does.

The young gentleman begining to keep company muſt have a good equipage and money in his pocket, that he may appear as other gentlemen do and may keep the beſt company, and this cannot be done without a large allowance; and this makes the firſt hole in the father's caſh, and ſometimes the ſon calls for it faſter than the father can ſupply him, which often times cauſes ſome chagrin and diſcontent in the family, and ſome times is of bad conſequence, makes the young eſquire[1] warm and uneaſie, and away he goes up to London, gets into bad company and is undone early.

But we will ſuppoſe the beſt, and that it does not go that length, but he goes on as above. We come next to the daughters. The young ladyes are genteel and handſome; the father is vain of them, and the old lady, their mother, breeds them up to the hight of the figure the family in generall allwayes uſed to make. They dreſs rich, are gay, are taught to do nothing but ride in the coach and viſit my Lady *on this ſide*, the Counteſs of . . . . *on that ſide*, and my Lady Dutcheſs *on the other ſide*, being all neighbours. There they dance, play at Quadrille, and being agreeable young ladyes,, the counteſs and the dutcheſs and their daughters are mighty fond of their company, and come and viſit them again, the honour of which extremely *f.* 129. elevates them ; and thus they learn to taſt the pleaſure of living high, in which they muſt imitate as far as poſſible all the cuſtomes, nay, and even the very dreſs of the ladyes of quallity with whom they kept company ; and how far this will agree with £500 or 600 a year, you ſhall find in the conſequence.

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[1] *Eſq^{r}.*

By this improvident and thoughtleſs way of living the gentleman, the head of this ill goverend family, gets into debt, and finds himſelf embarraſſ't. One tradeſman aſks him for money, another ſhop keeper ſends in his bill, and he cannot raiſe money for them ; till after ſome time they grow rude and impertinent, ſaucy, and threatning.

Impatient and perplext at this, poor gentleman ! he knows not what to do. He can not bear to be dunn'd, but making his complaint to Mr. Gripe, a country attorney, or to Mr. Sharp, a ſcrivener at London, he preſently tells him he muſt make himſelf eaſie by taking up a little money upon the eſtate, that he ought not to let his credit in the country ſink and that he has £1000 at his ſervice, adding as a farther kindneſs that he will do it for him ſo privately, that no body in the country ſhall kno' any thing of it.

From this moment the gentleman is undone, his revenue is now leſſen'd by £50 a year, I mean, the intreſt of this £1000, his expence goes on at leaſt the ſame ; and tho', while the £1000 laſts, he ſits prety eaſie ; yet that waſts, and at laſt he ſees himſelf waſting and falling into the ſame embarraſſ't condicion as before, and this ſits cloſe to his heart.

I am loth to carry on the caſe to the winding off the bottom and bring the family to ruine, which muſt be the end of all, if the gentleman lives many yeares ;

but I'll break it off here and ſhow you the conſequence of but one ſtep downwards.

Juſt at the end of the firſt £1000 the old gentleman, who begins to ſee, tho' too late, the growing ruine of his family, becomes mellancholly, and, in a word, breaks his heart and dyes, having firſt made his will as follows :—

Firſt, his eldeſt ſon muſt have the eſtate; that he can't avoid, for it is generally entail'd, and if it was not, the honour of the family requires it: the houſe muſt be kept up. But as the reſt of the family muſt not ſtarv, ſo his younger brother muſt have £1000 to buy him a commiſſion, and his 4 ſiſters each of them £800 to marry them as well as they can, perhaps to ſome indifferent body; for that fortune will go but a little way with a gentleman, and they are bred too high to take up with a tradeſman, or indeed for a trades-man to venture upon them; ſo, if they marry at all, 'tis a great hazard but they are ruin'd and undone, for they have little elce before them.

But we leav the ladyes to mannage their own good or bad fortune, and return to the heir, the eldeſt ſon; for he is the ſtay of the family; he comes to the eſtate in very unhappy circumſtances.[1] His eſtate, which was 500 a year beſides the manſion[2] houſe and park, which f. 130. to carry every thing up to the higheſt pitch you may call £100 a year more, is heavily loaded, as follows[3]:

In the firſt place, his mother, during her life, keeps £200 a year from him, which was her joynture, and muſt be out of his hands while ſhe lives. However, to make the beſt of things, we'll ſuppoſe the good lady, loth to ſtand long in the way of her ſon's proſperity, drops off and dyes alſo, and ſo the whole eſtate falls into his hand, which then ſtands encumbr'd as follows:

1. A

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[1] Abbreviated.

[2] MS. *maſion.*

[3] MS. *foll.*

1. A mortgage for money borrow'd	£1000
2. The younger brother's appennage, which muſt be paid off, for he can not ſtay for it; his preferment depends upon the money:	£1000
3. Four ſiſters' porcions of £800 each, due as faſt as they marry, and the ladys to keep in the mean time	£3,200
	5,200

So that in ſhort the unhappy young gentleman is incumbr'd to the tune of £5200 with the intreſt of the firſt £2000 to pay in the mean time, ſo that indeed he has but £400 a year to ſupport the family and maintain his four ſiſters.

In this condition what courſe does he take? The firſt thing he has before him is to marry; if he gets a ſuitable match, we will ſuppoſe £5000 porcion, then his happyneſs ſtands thus: The gentleman pays away all his lady's fortune to clear his eſtate, and then he has the comfort of begining juſt where his father did before him, namely, that he has juſt the family eſtate that his father had, that is to ſay, a good manſion houſe and park (proper tools to ruine him by leading him to liv in too great a figure), £500 a year land and no money in his pocket; ſo that as, I ſay, he began juſt where his father began, ſo he is in a fair way to end juſt where his father ended and leav his heir and family embarraſt juſt as he found it; and all this is ſuppoſing the gentleman to be a ſober man too, a man of moralls and virtue, onely unhappy, as I have ſaid, in his circumſtances.[1] If he proves ever ſo little extravagant, immorall, drunken, like other men, that alters the caſe exceedingly, of which in its place; but firſt ſpeaking of him as a man of virtue, let us then take the ordinary alternativ here, that frequently happens in this caſe, that, to begin with the beſt part, it may happen that this gentleman may drop into the city, and falling into a merchant's family or ſome other wealthy trades-*f.* 131. man's,[1] he meets with a young lady of fortune, that being willing to marry a gentleman and fond of a title, and with all the gentleman being perhaps handſome, well educated and a man of addreſs, ſhe takes a fancy to him, and he gets £10 to 20,000 with her. If this be the caſe, he is made eaſie at once; he makes her a joynture of the whole eſtate, pays off the incumbrances, purchaſes £500 a year more, and adds to the eſtate, keeps £3 or 4000 ready money in his pocket, and eſpecially if the lady be a good mannager, too, as ſometimes happens, eſpecially among the city ladyes, to their fame be it ſpoken. Thus the gentleman lays up ſomething every year, and, in a word, the family is made, his fortune is doubl'd, his houſe is ſettled, he is thoro'ly delivred, and he is a riſing man.

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[1] Abbreviated.

But where and how often is this black ſwan to be found? Let us look at the reverſe of it, which is much oftner the caſe.

Suppoſe on the other hand one of theſe two caſes are his lot:

1. That inſtead of the lady with a fortune, as abov, nay, inſtead of the lady with a ſuitable moderate fortune, £5000, as abov, he cripples his fortune in the begining, marrys below himſelf, and takes a woman with a mean fortune, or what is worſe, with no fortune; or

2. Suppoſe he has[2] marry'd, as abov, with a ſuitable fortune, and has paid of the incumbrances and, as I have ſaid, begins juſt where his father began; but that, not having his father's prudence, he runs out by ſome extravagance of his own, and plunges himſelf by ſome

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[1] *T—M—.*

[2] MS. *having* instead of *he has.*

imorrallityes, ill habits, bad company, and the like, and ſo runs back.

In either of theſe caſes, be it which it will, he is infallibly reduc'd, and having once dip'd, that is, mortgaged his eſtate, he never retrievs it, and all comes to ruine. If death or any intervening help ſteps in, to put a ſtop to the diſſaſter before all is loſt, yet the family is reduc'd; and if the remainder of the eſtate comes out at one hundred or two hundred pounds a year, juſt to keep the family from miſery, which indeed is more than there is room to expect, 'tis a favourable end; and in the cloſe the children are beggars, the ſons muſt run into the army, the daughters, put off with 300 or 400 pound fortune, are oblig'd to run abroad, marry trades-men or, perhaps, a clergy man or two among the neighbourhood, and, in a word, are brought to very mean things; what is left to the eldeſt ſon is a callamity, not an eſtate, and ends, as we often ſee, in a ſhaddow of a gentleman, not a family, till it dwindles at laſt into nothing, is loſt and forgot in the country.

It is true, in great eſtates we have ſeen examples of it, when a frugal ſon has recovr'd the depredacions which a drunken, extravagant anceſtor has made in the inheritance; and ſome times the very ſame poſeſſor that *f.* 132. has run out and exhauſted the fortune of the family, has taken up, retrencht his expences, ſequeſtred himſelf, and liv'd retir'd, till the eſtate, by time, has out-grown the wounds it has receiv'd, and the family has recovred; but this muſt be in great eſtates, where, the family reſolving to liv in a narrow compaſs, the remainder of the eſtate will work out it ſelf, and even this is very difficult; but where the eſtate is ſmall and the incumbrances together with meer ſubſiſtance for the family riſe too near to a ballance of the eſtate, there it is impoſſible, and therefore the wound is mortall in ſuch families, and it can not be done.

Thus you have a view of the ordinary fate of the middling gentry and the diſſaſters by which they are often reduc'd. I forbear to giv examples, tho' I could illuſtrate this diſcourſe with a great variety, and whoſe ſtorys, were it not that the relacion might ſeem to be a perſonall ſatyr and touch ſome houſes too near, would be very diverting and inſtructing, too; but I purpoſely avoid expoſing families and gentry and making theſe miſtakes exemplar, which perhaps may yet be recovred, and if not, are too tragicall to be entirely conceal'd.

It is enough to add here that the compleat gentleman I am ſpeaking of avoids all theſe miſtakes and leaves his houſe eſtabliſh'd on the foundacion of his own prudence and good conduct beyond the power of diſaſter.

It is no ſcandal upon a gentleman of the higheſt quallity or of the greateſt eſtate to mannage his own affairs with prudence and judgement: on the contrary, there is no manner of reputacion either of judgment or underſtanding raiſed upon the foundacion of an unthinking, indolent temper; as 'tis no credit to a man of quallity to do little things unworthy of himſelf to ſave his money, ſo neither is their [!] any credit in extravagance; doing mad things will rather mark a man for mad than for a man of thought; a man of ſedate judgement will judge ſedately and act wiſely.

Bring this home to the caſe in hand: 'tis no credit for any man to ſquander away his ſubſtance; by ſquandring I am to be underſtood ſpending it imprudently, unwarily, and beyond the limits of his income, without regarding the due proporcion between the expence and the fund; on the contrary, it tends to poverty if a man ſpends but £20 a year more[1] than his income. He is from that moment a declining man, and his fortune is in a conſumcion, and at length he muſt decay.

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[1] MS. *leſs*.

The gentleman I am recommending the character of conſiders this; and as he abhorrs being poor, as who does not, ſo he reſolvs never to waſt the capital. If he *f.* 132 *b* layes up nothing, he will ſink nothing; if he has a capitall eſtate, he may alleage that he has no occaſion to increaſe it, and ſo may be doing good with it to the full extent, and ſo far his not improving may at leaſt be excuſ'd; but no man has any occaſion to leſſen his eſtate or to ſink his revenue meerly becauſe it is too bigg, ſeeing a leſſning the capital is in its kind a decay upon his family.[1]

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[1] In MS., *be* follows after *family*.

PART

f. 123.

PART II.

CAP. I.

Of the fund for the encreaſe of our nobillity and gentry in England, being the begining of thoſe we call Bred Gentlemen, with ſome account of the difference.

I HAVE mencioned ſome thing of our antient gentry, their originall, the value they put upon themſelves, the unhappy methods they take in bringing up and introducing their poſterity, and how the poor unhappy heirs of the fortunes of the beſt familyes are abandon'd to ignorance and indolence, till they are become objects of pity rather than worſhip and homage, and how they are plac'd below their inferiours in all the virtues and accompliſhments which ſhould render them valuable in their ſtacion.

I have alſo, as the end of the whole diſcourſe, evedently directed them how they ſhall recover the loſs, retriev the unhappy ſunk reputacion of their underſtandings, and at leaſt place themſelves where Nature has plac'd them and where by education they ought to have been plac'd, I men,[1] in the true elevation of a complete gentleman. I now proceed.

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[1] I.e., *mean.*

Law, trade, war, navigation, improvement of ſtocks, loans on public funds, places of truſt, and abundance of other modern advantages and private wayes of getting money, which the people of England in theſe laſt ages have been accquainted with more than formerly, have joyn'd, I do not ſay conſpir'd, together for ſome yeares paſt to encreaſe the wealth of the commonalty, and have raiſ'd a great number of familyes to not onely proſperous circumſtances,[1] for that I am not ſpeaking of, but to immenſe eſtates, vaſt and, till of late, unheard of ſumms of money amaſſ'd in a ſhort time and which have, in the conſequence, raiſ'd ſuch families to a ſtacion of life ſome thing difficult to deſcribe and not leſs difficult to giv a name to.

We can not call them gentlemen; they don't inſiſt upon it themſelves as the word gentlemen is underſtood to ſignify men of antient houſes, dignify'd with hereditary titles and family honours, old manſion houſes, old advouſions [!], the right of patronage to churches, eſtabliſh'd burying places, where they ſhew the monuments of innumerable anceſtors, names deriv'd from the lands and eſtates they poſſeſs, parks and forreſts made their own by preſcripcion and uſage time out of mind, and ſuch like marks of the antiquity of the race.

Theſe things they have no claim to, but as a rich merchant anſwer'd to an inſolent country eſquire who upbraided him that he was no gentleman: "No, Sir," ſayes the merchant, "but I can buy a gentleman,"—ſo
theſe have the grand eſſential, the great fund of families, *f.* 134.
the money, if they have no more, and very often they really have no more. You ſee I am willing to giv up the firſt money getting wretch, who amaſſ'd the eſtate, tho' he rod in his coach and four and, perhaps, coach and ſix, wore a ſword (the latter I think our laws ſhould reſtrain); in ſhort, perhaps he had all the enſigns of

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[1] Abbreviated.

of grandeur that a true bred gentleman is diſtinguiſh'd by, yet the ſtock jobber, the 'Change Alley broker, the projector, or whatever low priz'd thing he was, may be allow'd to hang about him too much for the firſt age to give him ſo much as the ſhaddo' of a gentleman. Purſe-proud, inſolent, without manners, and too often without ſence, he diſcovers his mechanick quallificacions on all occaſions; the dialect of the Alley hangs like a brogue upon his tongue, and if he is not clown clad in his behaviour, 'tis generally ſupplyed with the uſuall air of a ſharper and a bite, and he can no more leav the ravening after money, *Fas aut nefas*, than an old thief can leav off pilfering, or an old whore leav off procuring.

But when I ſay I thus giv up the founder of the houſe, I muſt yet open the door to the politer ſon, and the next age quite alters the caſe. Call him what you pleaſe on account of his blood, and be the race modern and mean as you will, yet if he was ſent early to ſchool, has good parts, and has improv'd them by learning, travel, converſation, and reading, and abov all with a modeſt courteous gentleman-like behaviour: deſpiſe him as you will, he will be gentleman in ſpite of all the diſtinccions we can make, and that not upon the money onely, and not at all upon his father and family, but upon the beſt of all foundations of families, I mean a ſtock of perſonall merit, a liberal education, a timely and regular diſcipline and inſtruccion, and a humble temper early form'd and made the receptible of the beſt impreſſions and ſubjected to the rules and laws of being inſtructed.

By theſe things the ſucceſſors to, and ſons of, the over-rich ſcoundrel, call him as you will, become gentlemen and are without heſitacion receiv'd for ſuch among the beſt families in Britain; nor do any of the moſt antient families ſcruple to form alliances with them by intermarriages, or eſteem their blood at al diſhonour'd by the conjunccion.

To ſpeak truth the antient families are ſo reduc'd or ſo many of them extinct, that we find abundance of the manſions and parks and eſtates and inheritances of the moſt antient extinct families bought by citizens, merchants, lawyers, etc., and the old race gone and forgotten; and for the decay'd families of our gentry, nay, and even of the nobillity, we find the heires flye to the city as the laſt reſort, where by marrying a daughter of ſome perſon meaner in dignity, but ſuperior in money, the fortunes of the family are reſtor'd, the eſtates, dipp'd and mortgag'd and in danger of being loſt and devour'd, are recovr'd, the fame and figure of the family reſtor'd; and the poſterity make no difficulty to own the deſcent of ſuch a line, or think their race at all diſhonour'd in blood by the mixture.

His grace the D . . . . of . . . . . was a perſon of the firſt rank; he had ſome of the beſt blood of England in his veins; he quarter'd the arms of an incredible number of antient familyes in his eſcutchean[1] of arms; his father had enjoy'd ſome of the greateſt places of honour and truſt in the kingdom;[2] there had been two or three blew ribbons in the family, and he was himſelf a young prince that had a thouſand good qualities to recomend him.

But my Lord Duke was unhappy after all: His eſtate was low; his father loſt prodigious ſums in the Civil Warrs by his loyalty and gat no amends upon the reſtoracion except titles and a blew ribband. He was a generous-hearted noble-man, and liv'd above his fortune, ſo that he brought the eſtate into great encumbrances, and even the great houſe and the eſtate adjoyning had £17,000 mortgage upon it and ſome yeares intreſt.

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[1] MS. *Eſutchean.*

[2] *K.*

Two other eſtates of about 4000 per annum each were dip'd alſo and the intreſt unpaid for a long time, ſo that my Lord Duke had very little left clear and was glad to accept a penſion of £2000 a year from the royal bounty to ſupport his dignity. He had liv'd frugally and retir'd, if poſſible, to bring the eſtate to work it ſelf out of debt, and he had cut down near £60,000 worth of timber to help deliver himſelf, and it had made ſome progreſs; but alaſs, he was in ſo deep it would require an age to retriev it, and the uttmoſt he could expect was to leav a good eſtate to his heir, if he ſhould have one; for he muſt not expect to get thro' it till 40 or 50 year hence.

Under theſe difficultyes he heares of a certain lady in the city; her father indeed was but a trades-man[1] and of no family, but he is dead, and the lady is well educated, being left in the hands of a guardian, a merchant, who bred her up to what ſhe might be ſuppoſ'd to come to, not what her father was; and the merchant has been ſo juſt to her, that he has encreaſ'd her fortune exceedingly ſince the father dyed. To ſum up all, the lady is agreeable, very beautifull, virtuous, well bred, and has £80,000 fortune, beſides a reverſion or two, which, if they ſhould fall in to her in any reaſonable time, may encreaſe it farther very conſiderably.

In ſhort, my Lord Duke heares of her, gets himſelf handſomly introduc'd to her, makes very honourable propoſalls to the guardian, ſettles £4000 a year joynture upon her, part of her fortune paying off £20,000 mortgage which lay upon it with 8500 intreſt left unpaid, and on this ſettlement marrys the lady.

She comes into the family with a flowing ſtream of wealth. My Lord Duke is a man of honeſty as well as honour; he cleares all his eſtate with this fortune, and has £20,000 left in caſh. He uſes his lady, as her merit as well as fortune deſerv'd, with all the kindneſs, reſpect, and affeccion imaginable, and particularly honours her as if ſhe had been born a princeſs. She on the other hand by an extraordinary behaviour wins the regard not of his grace onely, but of all the perſons of quallity both in the country and the Court alſo, and this, I ſay, by a behaviour unexepcionable and allmoſt unexampled. She brought his grace 4 ſons and 2 daughters, and nobody leſſens their quallity or blood on their mother's account. How many familyes of noblemen, *f.* 135. gentlemen, and perſons of the beſt characters, who having been plung'd in difficultyes as this noble perſon was, raiſ'd by ſuch matches! If this was a diſhonour to the antient blood, how few familyes are there to be found in England untoucht that way! For example:—

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[1] *T—M—*

How are the preſent ducal houſes of Beauford and Bedford intermarry'd with the daughters and grand daughters of Mr. Child and Mr. Howland; and how many, if it were not an offence to reckon them up, might we bring forth of a meaner produccion, where inferiour ladyes are marry'd to perſons of rank and dignity, and others where ladyes of noble families match with private men and hardly with gentlemen.[1]

But

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[1] *On folio* 134 *b is the following list:*

Duke Argyle . . .	with Mrs. Duncan
Earle Iſla	with Mrs. Whitfield, a baſtard
Earl of Buchan	Mrs. Fairfax
Lord Onſlow	Mrs. Knight
Earl of Exceſter	Mrs. Chambers
Duke of Beaufort . . .	Mrs. Child
Duke of Bedford . . .	Mrs. Howland
Duke Hamilton	Mrs. Stangeways
old Duke Hamilton	Mrs. Gerrard
Duke Wharton	Mrs. Holmes
Lord Tankerville . . .	Mrs. . . . .

Lady

But tho' this is a confirmacion of the thing with reſpect to the mixtures of blood, yet this is not the main article on which I found the ballance which I am ſtating. It is evedent all family honour begins ſome where, either in trade, virtue, favour of the prince, all aſſiſting to the advance of fortune. Some riſe by poſts and places either in the armies or fleets or courts; others by civil employments, profeſſions or poſeſſion, 'tis no matter as to our purpoſe which of theſe.

In every age ſome of theſe form new houſes, as accidents in life remov familyes from one claſs into another. We find in moſt ages mortallity or other incidents frequently remove great, antient, and even honourable families from the ſtation they were in, and they are extinct and gone as effectualy as if they had never been. I could name ſeverall antient and illuſtrious families whoſe names onely live in ſtory, but whoſe place, as the text ſayes, knows them no more, as the Peercys, the Veres, Mohuns, and ſeverall others of the nobillity and a multitude that might be nam'd among the gentry.

As we ſee theſe families wear off, we at the ſame time ſee a ſucceſſion of modern families who, raiſ'd to eſtates by the accidents nam'd abov, purchaſe the old mannors and manſion houſes of the extinguiſh'd race and riſe up as new families of fortune and make new lines of gentry in their ſtead. Theſe ſupply the roll of Engliſh gentry, and in a ſucceſſion or two are receiv'd as effectually, and are as eſſentially gentlemen, as any of the antient houſes were before them.

This

Lady Compton	to Mr. Gore
Lady Ruſſel	to Sir Tho. Scawen
Lady Churchil	to Sir Ja. Bateman
Lady ———	to Pattee Bing
Lady Narbro'	to Cloudſly Shovell
Counteſs Dowager of Warwick	to Mr. Addiſſon
cum alijs	

This is eſpecially to be obſerv'd in the ſeverall countyes adjacent to London, where, in ſhort, you have very few of the antient gentry left, as in the countyes of Eſſex, Kent, Surry, Middleſex, Hartford, etc. Take the two great countyes of Eſſex and Kent in particular: how few of the antient families are to be found, but the eſtates are poſeſſt and the new pallaces built all by modern houſes, the poſterity of trades-men, merchants, ſoldiers, and ſeamen; and one particularly accquainted with both the caſe and with the perſons aſſur'd me that in the two countyes of Kent and Eſſex onely there was not one fifth part of the antient families remaining, and that he could name near 200 houſes of merchants and trades-men ſettled in thoſe counties with immenſe wealth and eſtates, having purchaſ'd the eſtates of the antient gentry and erected a new race of gentry in their ſtead, whoſe originals begin allready to be forgotten and who gain either by merit or money, and perhaps by both, to paſs for good families and for unqueſtioned blood as much as any before them, and in a few yeares more will paſs for antient families *f.* 136.
alſo.[1]

How many antient eſtates are purchaſ'd in theſe two counties by citizens and merchants of London within theſe few yeares paſt, and fine houſes built upon them, equall to the pallaces of ſome princes abroad.

Sir Richard Childs, now
Lord Caſtlemain . at Wanſtead, Eſſex;
Sir John Iſles . . . near Rumford;
Sir Nath. Mead . . near the ſame;
. . . . . Cheſter . . near the Rye;

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[1] *On folio* 134 *b the following families are named:* In Eſſex the families of Child, Rebow, Creſſner, Aſhurſt, Weſtern, Rawſon, Martin, Mead, Iſles, Tyſſon, Daval, Lethulier, Houblon, Cheſter, Webſter, Blunt, Coward, Collier, Brookbank, Gould, Howard, Shovel, Page, Papilon, Furnis or Furneſe, Lethuliere, Cock at Charleton, De la Port.

Sir Gregory Page . . on Black Heath ;
Sir Robert Furneſe . near Deal.

Theſe I name as extraordinary great capital houſes of the firſt rate. The number of other buildings and which would be call'd pallaces if not ecclypſt by theſe, are not to be reckon'd up, nor are the families which poſeſs flouriſhing eſtates with them to be number'd, whoſe names are yet not to be found in the books or rolls of the antient gentry ; and what will be the conſequence of this but that the next age will acknowlege theſe all to be gentlemen, without enquiring into the length of time when their houſes and lines began ; nay, the preſent age does reciev them as ſuch even allready.

There is alſo another thing not much thought of in this caſe, which however aſſiſts to eſtabliſh theſe modern houſes ; viz., ſince trade, by the encreaſe and magnitude of our commerce in generall, raiſes ſo many families to fortunes and eſtates, abundance of our antient gentry have not thought it below them to place out their younger ſons in the families of merchants and overgrown tradeſmen, and ſo to mingle not the blood, but the name alſo of the gentry with that of the mechanick, breeding them up to buſſineſs and getting of money, as what they eſteem no way unworthy their character or family.

By this means many of theſe younger ſons raiſe themſelves eſtates alſo, as other men of buſſineſs do, and bettering their fortunes, as above, by ſome happy turn in trade, they return into the claſs of gentlemen from whence they began.

Thus we ſee abundance of trades-men[1] who deriv from families of the beſt gentry in the nation : whether our niceer obſervors of the untainted blood of familyes, as they call it, will pretend that ſuch men loſe the claim which they had before to the name of gentlemen and are, being once levell'd with the meaner people, allways of the rank with them: I ſay, whether they will pretend to this or not, I kno' not any more than I do whether they have any authourity for ſuch pretenſions or no.

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[1] *T—M.*

But this is certain, whether thoſe people will allow it or no, that thoſe gentlemen are of the true blood of their reall anceſtors; ſtill their having been merchants or factors or trades-men, whole-ſale or retail, did not cut off the entail of blood any more, than it cut off the ſir-names.

Now ſuppoſe a merchant of the family and blood of the Ruſſells, an antient and noble, now ducal, houſe, or a wholeſale grocer of the name of Howland or Creſner or Blacket, ancient families of the gentry: I ſay, ſuppoſe a trades-man[1] born of theſe antient families comes, after a long courſe of trade, to accquire an eſtate, and they leav off vaſtly rich to the tune of £30 to 50 to 100,000 in a man, and purchaſe an eſtate in proporcion to that fortune, and live in the country for an age or two; it ſhall be remembred hereafter, and the heralds ſhall allow it, that this new family came from, or were of, the line of the antient houſe of Howland or Creſner or Blacket, and the interval of time in which he, the new family, apply'd to trade and got that eſtate ſhall be loſt and forgotten: ſo the man is a gentleman of an antient family with-out any reſerv, and is allow'd for *f.* 137. ſuch without the leaſt heſitacion in ages to come; nor indeed can we aſſign any juſt reaſon why it ſhould not be allow'd ſo in the ſame age, tho' the circumſtance[2] was known. I ſee no reaſon why the younger brother ſhould loſe the honour of his family for having gotten an eſtate by his witts, as we call it, that is, by induſtry and applicacion to buſſineſs, ſuppoſe it an honourable buſſineſs, any more than the Duke of . . . . . ſhould loſe his honour and dignity for marrying the daughter of a mean perſon.

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[1] *T—M.*

[2] Abbreviated.

But be that as the heralds and the criticks in blazonry and the rights of blood ſhall adjuſt it, this is certain, that as trade, eſpecially in this country, raiſes innumerable families from the duſt, that is to ſay, from mean and low begínings to great and flouriſhing eſtates, ſo thoſe eſtates exalt theſe families again into the rank or claſs of gentry; and from ſuch beginings it may be ſaid that the greateſt part of the families among us has been raiſ'd, and moſt of the gentry in the ſucceeding ages are like to be of the ſame ſtock.

It muſt be acknowleg'd that the wealth and eſtates of theſe riſing families is very particular in this age, more than ever it was before, and that men are not now counted rich with twenty or thirty thouſand pounds in their pockets, as was the caſe ſome ages agoe; but trades-men leav off now with immenſe wealth, not leſs than two or three hundred thouſand pound, nay with half a million in their pockets, a ſum of money truly call'd immenſe in a private man's pocket, and which was rarely heard of in former times. The poſterity of theſe men appear not purchaſing eſtates of three or four hundred pounds a year, as was then thought conſiderable, but of three or four, nay up to ten and twelv thouſand pounds a year, and ſome times much more, as was the caſe of the late Sir Joſiah Child, Mr. Tyſſon, Sir James Bateman, Sir Tho. De Vall or Daval, Sir Wm. Scawen, and ſeverall others that are gone, and is like to be the caſe of many now in view, who I refrain nameing becauſe they are ſo, but they are eaſie to be pointed out.

Now ſuppoſe any of theſe gentlemen to be deſcended from antient families of gentry, however brought up in buſſineſs: ſhall ſuch gentry as theſe be rejected by the pretenders to antiquity and blood of families, onely becauſe they have beſtow'd a few vacant houres to get eſtates by their own application, when their great anceſtors could not get it for them.

If they are thus deſcended from antient families one would think there could no objection lye againſt them, for they have the blood and the eſtates too. What can be offred againſt them? They have the families and the fortunes joyned together, and can onely be chargeable with the crime of getting the money. Muſt their deſcending to buſſineſs in order to recover the miſſfortune of being a younger brother be a forfeiture? This would be ſtretching the ſtring up to a higher pitch than ever I met with yet, and would break into the pedigree of moſt of the great and antient families in England.

'Tis hardly worth digreſſing thus far upon the fooliſh part. I proceed therefore to the matter of fact and to trace our gentry to their proper beginings, whether antient or modern, whether to original branches or collateral. I believ we ſhall find the luſtre of the Engliſh gentry not at all tarniſh'd by their ſtock of the old race or by the addition of the new.

As thoſe gentlemen who have thus deſcended to commerce claim a rank, as abov, by blood, ſo thoſe raiſ'd meerly by the help of fortune claim the ſame advantage with the help of time; that is to ſay, the merchant or the trades-man whoſe applicacion thus bleſſ't has lay'd the foundacion of a family in his accumulated wealth, as he ſeldome arrives to the hight, till he is, as we ſay, advanc't in yeares, ſo the race as gentlemen ſeldome begin in him. He may be call'd the founder of the family, but his poſterity are the gentlemen, as is merrily ſaid of the great anceſtor of the family of the Foleys now illuſtrious, *He was the workman*, aluding to his trade,[1] *that built the houſe*. But we admit the branches of the houſe, who ever built it, into the higheſt rank of our gentry without the leaſt heſitation.

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[1] *T.*

By the laſt mencioned methods thouſands of families are revived or new raiſ'd in the world, and, as they deſerv, are rank'd among our gentry; and whether they come in by the door or over the door, 'tis the ſame thing; as they are raiſ'd to the dignity by the proper addition of ſuch vaſt eſtates, thoſe elevations are thoro'ly well accepted by the world, and in one age they are acknowleg'd as gentry to all intents and purpoſes as effectually and as unoppoſed as it could have been done had their title to it been as clear as poſſible from antiquity.

f. 138. It comes of courſe now to enquire into the uſuall education of the eldeſt ſons of theſe familyes; and firſt I am to tell you they generally out-do the born gentlemen all over the Kingdom, I mean in educacion.

I can aſſure you they are not thought to be above educacion. Their parents never think learning or going to ſchoole a diſgrace to them or below their quallity.

And thus I am brought down to the terms of admiſſion, as I may call them, vpon which the modern families of our gentry rank with the antient; and I think they are very fairly reduc'd to two heads:—1. Great eſtates, whether raiſ'd by trade or any of the uſuall improvments of the meaner people, ſuppoſing them onely to be without a blot of ſcandal, which I may explain in its turn. 2. A remove or two from the firſt hand or, as 'twas call'd above, the workman that built the houſe. Theſe, and theſe onely, are the *poſtulata* requir'd, or at leaſt that I inſiſt upon as neceſſary.

Sir A . . . . C . . . . is a baronet; his father was Lord Mayor of London, and kept his ſhop in . . . . . Street many yeares, a worthy honeſt citizen of long ſtanding, and liv'd to be father of the city, was belov'd by every body, had an extraordinary good name, and deſerv'd very well, having been a fair trades-man, juſt in all his dealing, and had a wonderfull good reputacion, and vaſtly rich.

He bred up his eldeſt ſon to no buſſineſs, having ſo great an eſtate to give him, but ſent him to Eaton School, where he made ſuch a proficiency that at 18 year old he was ſent to the Univerſity; there he ſtudyed ſome time, when at his own requeſt and with his father's conſent he went abroad to travell.

His two younger brothers were brought up to their father's trade, and the old gentleman left it wholly to them; and they are very rich allready, having great ſtocks given them by their father at firſt, and they being complete trades-men encreaſe it every day, grow rich appace, and may be as good gentlemen as their eldeſt brother in a few yeares, or at leaſt, may lay a foundation of the like greatneſs in the next age by educating their eldeſt ſons ſuitable to the breeding of a gentleman and giving them eſtates to ſupport it.

Their eldeſt brother being juſt come home from his travels, the good old baronette his father dyed, and having purchaſ'd an eſtate of £3000 a year in Hampſhire, beſides leaving him a vaſt ſtock of money in the Bank of England, the South Sea[1] and other public funds and ſecurityes, enough to purchaſe £3 or 4000 a year more. He is gone down to the manſion houſe in . . . . . ſhire to put it in condicion, he having reſolv'd to ſettle there and to liv upon the ſpot.

When he came there, he fell imediately to work with the eſtate, look't over the leaſes, talk't with his father's bailies and ſtewards and with tennants too, making himſelf maſter of the condicion the eſtate was in, as well as of the eſtate itſelf, ordring new leaſes where the old ones were expir'd, ordred the farm houſes and barns to be repair'd, and ſome new ones to be built, raiſ'd ſeverall cottages for the poor, which were old and fallen down, and, in a word, did everything to encourage the tennants and improve the eſtate, letting his tennants kno' that he intended to come and ſettle among them.

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[1] *S Sea.*

Then he goes to work alſo with the manſion houſe or family ſeat; and firſt he ordr'd the park to be wall'd about, the old pale being very much decay'd; and as the earth was in many places proper for brick making, he cauſes the bricks to be made upon the ſpot, having ſome of his owne tennants who were brick makers, and ſo agreed with them by the thouſand, he finding them earth to make them and wood to burn them.

Then he ſetts men to the pulling down the out-houſes which were decay'd, and builds a very handſome ſett of ſtables, coach-houſes and offices, a large dog kennell, with a little dwelling houſe for his hunts-man, and having ſtock'd his park with deer of an extraordinary kind, he builds two lodges in his park, with other conveniences for the keepers; and all theſe things are *f.* 139. done with a magnificence ſuitable to his fortunes, and to the figure he intended to liv in, and yet with a prudence and frugallity as to the manner of it that was admir'd by every body; there was no want of any thing, and yet no needleſs ſimple profuſion or ignorant weak extravagance; and particularly he took care that ready money was allways paid for every thing that was bought, and that all the workmen were punctually pay'd their wages.

In all this Sir A . . . . does not think it below himſelf to direct and lay out every deſign and to be his own *Surveyor Generall.* If the workmen commit any miſtake or preſume to dictate, as ſuch men will, contrary to his ſchemes, he ſees it imediately and corrects the error, cauſes it to be pull'd down and done his own way, and is not affraid to let them kno' that he dares truſt to his own judgment and will have his orders ſtrictly executed.

It happen'd one day that ſome neighbouring gentlemen riding by and ſeeing the works going forward in this manner, halt to ſatisfye their curioſity. "Let us go in," ſays one of them, "and ſee how the buildings go on here, and what they are a-doing." When they had view'd every thing and enquir'd of the workmen or, perhaps, of the head workman what this or that particular part was or was to be, and ſee the admirable order in which all was begun, and how every thing is deſign'd, and for what, they were ſurpriz'd; firſt, they were ſhow'd the ſtables for his coach horſes in one place, for his runing horſes in another, and for his hunters in a third; here the ſtack yards, there the barns and hay lofts; here the granaries, there the wood yards; here the ayrings and riding places; then they were ſhow'd the offices for the family, ſuch as the dairys, the cow houſes, the yards, the laundryes, and the lodgings over them for women ſervants, and how to be wall'd in and encloſ'd from the other offices of the *Ecurie* or ſtables, with particular inlets to the kitchens and other appartments of the houſe when built: I ſay, when they had fully view'd and obſerv'd all theſe things, the gentlemen go away exceedingly pleaſed, and diſcourſing among themſelves ſaye one of them.

Firſt gentleman: "I aſſure you, Sir A. will have a fine dwelling here when 'tis all done."

Second gentleman: "Yes, indeed; they finiſh every thing very handſomly as they go."

Third gentleman: "Ay, and 'tis all well deſign'd too, admirably well; who ever is his ſurveyer underſtands things very well."

Firſt gentleman: "I obſerv every thing looks great and magnificent, and yet not gay and taudry, as if built for oſtentacion."

Second gentleman: "No, indeed; here is the grandeur without the vanity, her's no pride; 'tis all uſefull, all neceſſary."

Third gentleman: "Ay, and wonderfully ſtrong and ſubſtantial; 'tis built for the family. Why, 'twill ſtand for ever. I want to kno' who is his head mannager; I want ſuch a man."

Second gentleman: "What, for your own building, Sir James, that you are going upon at the Grange? I can ſatisfy you in that point, and particularly that you can't have his help."

Third gentleman: "Why ſo, pray? I would not take him from Sir A., if I could; but I might talk with him and have ſome direccions from him; I would pay him for it."

Firſt gentleman: "I underſtand Mr. . . . . . It is true you can't have him, indeed; why, Sir A. is his own ſurveyor; he layes out all the deſigns himſelf, and gives the workmen all the ſcantlings and dimenſions from his own draffts.

Third gentleman: "You ſurpriſe me! Why, they ſay he was bred a trades-man, a meer citiſen. His father was a . . . . . grocer or a——"

Second gentleman: "Let his father be what he will, 'tis apparent he underſtands very well how to be a gentleman."

Firſt gentleman: "Ay, and intends to liv like a gentleman too; that's evedent by all the deſign."

Second gentleman: "I aſſure you he has had as good
f. 140. an educacion as moſt gentlemen, for he was bred at the Univerſity; he was fiv year at Cambridge."

Firſt gentleman: "And has been three year abroad upon his travells."

Third gentleman: "Nay, then he'll be too learned and too proud for his neighbours, that are better gentlemen than himſelf."

Firſt gentleman : "No, indeed ; you wrong him. He is the moſt courteous, free, ſociable gentleman that ever you kept company with in your life."

Third gentleman : "And is he not allways telling you of his travells, and what he has ſeen, and where he has been ?"

Second gentleman : "Not at all ; indeed, unleſs any body enquires and aſks him queſtions about it for their own informacion."

Firſt gentleman : "Nor then neither any more than juſt to giv a direct anſwer."

Third gentleman : "And iſn't his mouth full of ſcraps of Latin and of Italian, and ſuch out of the way things ?"

Second gentleman : "Not a word ; he is the beſt humour'd, humbleſt, and merryeſt thing that ever you ſaw in your life."

Firſt gentleman : "Nay, and he's a compleat ſportſman."

Third gentleman : "Indeed, he ſeems to love the ſport by his building ſuch conveniences for his dogs and ſuch a houſe for his huntſ-man."

Second gentleman : "He is but every thing that a man of fortune ſhould be."

Firſt gentleman : "He is indeed a complete gentleman."

Third gentleman : "But ſo much ſchollarſhip! D . . . . it, I hate theſe learned gentlemen ; a man can't keep 'em company ; he muſt have ſuch a care of 'em for fear he ſhould look like a fool."

Second gentleman : "I ſee no need of it in his company ; he is above ſuch little things. If a man makes a little ſlip, he is ſuch a maſter of good manners, he never takes the leaſt notice ; in ſhort, he is a clever gentleman. You would be charm'd with his company."

Firſt gentleman : "When does he come down to liv among us ?"

Third gentleman: "I muſt needs ſay I don't deſire it; for I have no accquaintance with him."

Firſt gentleman: "O you'l be ſoon accquainted with him."

Third gentleman: "I accquainted? No! no! he is above me."

Second gentleman: "What do you mean by that? Is any gentleman above Sir James ......?"

Firſt gentleman: "He is above no body, and will be belov'd by every body."

Third gentleman: "But he is too well read for me, he is above me in converſation; I can't cary on ſuch an acquaintance."

Firſt gentleman: "If you won't be accquainted with him, he will be accquainted with you. It's impoſſible you ſhould avoid it; you will be acquainted with him before he has been here a fortnight."

Second gentleman: "Ay, and be as fond of him as any body, too; you have too much ſence not to[1] love ſuch a man; and he'll be as well pleaſ'd with you, too, Sir James. I can tell you that, for he loves a man of ſuch an open, free, generous converſation as you are."

Third gentleman: "But I have no learning. I was an unhappy dog; I was born to the eſtate, or elce I had been taught; but I muſt be a blockhead for ſooth, becauſe I was to be the gentleman. There's Jack, my youngeſt brother; they gave him Latin and Greek as
f. 141. much as he could carry upon his back, and the D . . . l and all of other learning beſides, and now he's (a P . . . Pocket) a lawyer I would ſay; and there's Will, my ſecond brother; now he's commander of a man of war and knighted a'ready, and all by his being a mathematical dog. Ther's ne're a blockhead in the family but me."

Firſt gentleman: "Come, don't run down your ſelf,

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[1] MS. *to to.*

Sir James; there's no body takes you for a blockhead but your ſelf."

Third gentleman: "I have the moſt reaſon to kno' what I am."

Second gentleman: "Well, well, Sir A . . . . won't take you for ſuch."

Firſt gentleman: "He can make a better judgment than ſo, I tell you; he'll be delighted with you."

Third gentleman: "Yes, and I ſhall hang my ſelf. I wiſh my father had been a right worſhippfull wholeſale grocer or draper or brandy maker, what d'ye call them, diſtiller, or any mechanick thing with but money in his pocket; then I ſhould have been——"

Second gentleman: "What? what would you have been? an arch-biſhop, would you? Are you not better as you are? What would you have done with all this eſtate and a gown upon your back?"

Firſt gentleman: "Aren't you Sir James . . . . . ., Knight and Baronette, and £5000 a year? What would you be better?"

Third gentleman: "I'll tell you. I would not perhaps have been an arch-biſhop; I ſhould have made but a ſorry prieſt; but I ſhould have been a man of reading, a man of letters, and a ſchollar, and I muſt own that becomes a gentleman. I'de give half the eſtate for it with all my ſoul."

This diſcourſe happen'd upon a curſory view onely of Sir A.'s buildings; and the ſubſtance of it is to obſerv how well a young well educated ſon of a citiſen or tradeſ-man knows how to be a gentleman, if he has an eſtate to ſupport it; and how ſoon the poſterity of ſuch eſtabliſh themſelves among the gentry, and are accepted among gentlemen as effectually as if the blood of twenty generations was runing in their veins.

I could giv you ſo many examples of this kind that it would be tyreſome to the reader; but as ſome variety is neceſſary, beſides thoſe whoſe particular families are ſo well known to us and who it is not for that reaſon proper to mencion, take the following hiſtory, which may be depended upon for truth.

Sir B . . . . . F . . . . . is another family now flouriſhing and eminent in the country. His father was an eminent city knight, a tradeſ-man or merchant without family, without race or name in antient ſtory, and what is ſtill worſe, without fortune, an accidental blow or blaſt of fortune overthrowing the old knight in the ordinary diſaſters of trade, ſuch as are frequent among tradeſ-men.

He had educated his ſon during his better circumſtances[1] with all the advantages that a birth fortelling a riſing family could deſire, and as his flowing wealth could well affoard. He was a comely perſon, had an agreeable behaviour, perfectly good humour'd, and, in a word, was every thing that could be deſir'd in his out-ſide. His head was furniſh'd with a great ſtock of common knowleg by travell, and having ſeen the world he ſpoke ſeverall languages. He had a tollerable ſhare of ſchool learning too, and had read much and ſeen more; and what added to it all, he had a mind fortify'd with virtue and ſolid judgement againſt the fopperies and follyes of the age; and this ſupported him under the diſappointment of his father's diſſaſters ſo that he carryed it with an equall ſteadyneſs of temper, not affraid of a figure below what he was bred for, and *f.* 142. yet not infencible and thoughtleſs, indolent, and careleſs; but as he was deſign'd for a gentleman by his father, when in condicion to have ſupported it, and was furniſh'd as well by Nature as by education to be what his adverſe fortune ſeem'd to forbid, yet he reſolv'd to maintain the temper and behaviour of a gentleman in proporcion to his circumſtances[1] and to let the world ſee that, if fortune had deny'd him the advantage of appearing in the brighter figure for which he was fitted, that yet he would ſhine in what ever orbit he mov'd in.

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[1] Abbreviation.

This equanimity of his temper gain'd him an univerſall eſteem. Every man lov'd him, every man ſpoke well of him ; he was the ſubject of diſcourſe at the tea tables, at the aſſemblyes, at the meetings of all kinds among either the gentlemen or the ladyes ; and tho' he was not treated as an object of charity recomended to the gentlemen for their ſupply, yet all the diſcourſe generally ended with a kind of acknowlegement that he was a gentleman that deſerv'd a better fortune.

C . . . . . . da was a maiden lady, well known in the country. She was an heireſs in reverſion to a very great fortune, and had a handsome eſtate in poſeſſion ; ſhe was well bred, of an antient family, and tho' not a celebrated beauty, not the toaſt of the country, yet far from being ordinary, ſhe was very genteel and perfectly agreeable.

As ſhe had a very good eſtate and was well deſcended, ſhe had not wanted the addreſſes of ſeverall gentlemen in the country, ſo that if ſhe was not marry'd at 23 it was no bodye's fault but her own. Prudence and a very good judgment kept her from takeing up below her ſelf or with the worthleſs empty beaus of the adjacent town, tho' of equall fortunes; and it was her receiv'd maxim that ſhe would rather never marry than be match'd with a fool, however great his eſtate.

At a particular aſſembly of ladyes, where being by themſelves they made themſelves amends upon the men for the ſcandalous freedom which they on the other hand often, I might ſay allways, take with the ſex, they had among others the character of Sir B . . . . . upon the carpet.

Not one of the ladyes had ſo much as a hard or unkind

kind word for him. Every body ſaid he was a compleat gentleman; in the blow which his father's miſtake had been to his fortunes, how modeſtly did he behave! how humble and yet how eaſie! how chearfull, how perfectly maſter of his own felicity! how did he ſhew that, not depreſſt with the diſappointment of what he had before to expect, he was able to compoſe his mind to a perfect enjoyment of what he had loſt!

"To prov," ſayes one lady, "that he knew how to have been a gentleman with a good eſtate, he ſhows that he can behave like a gentleman without an eſtate."

"Such a ſoul as his," ſayes another, a maiden lady of a great fortune, "moves in an exalted ſphere above the low, clouded, ecclypſt regions of common life; it can ſhine from its own luſtre, and has all its merit in it ſelf."

From this kind of diſcourſe they began with ſome tenderneſs to ſpeak of his paſt circumſtances,[1] and eſpecially concerning the blow he had received; how he viſited and aſſiſted his father as far as he was able; and abundance of ſoft things ſuitable to the goodneſs of the ſex were ſaid. At laſt C . . . . . . da took up the caſe.

"I have heard much of this gentleman," ſayes ſhe.[2]

[1] Abbreviation.

[2] End of MS.

NOTES.

PAGE 6.—Mothers are frequently blamed for their interference in their sons' education. *Cf.* Peacham, "Compleat Gentleman," p. 32; and J. Gailhard, "Compleat Gentleman" (1678), p. 16.

PAGE 15.—Sir William Craven was Lord Mayor of London in 1611. His son William was made Earl of Craven, and died in 1697, aged 88, thus being contemporary with Aubrey, twentieth and last Earl of Oxford, who died in 1702. It seems almost certain that these are the persons. But Defoe has confused the Earl's genealogy; Aubrey's father was Robert (*ob.* 1632), the nineteenth Earl. Robert was the son of Hugh, son of Aubrey, who was the younger brother of John (*ob.* 1562), the sixteenth Earl. The seventeenth Earl was his son Edward (*ob.* 1604). The eighteenth Earl was Henry (*ob.* 1625). Another younger brother of John, the sixteenth Earl, was Geoffrey, who had two sons, Sir Francis (died 1608) and Horatio de Vere. Nevertheless, the story seems to be true. (Bickley.)

PAGE 18, l. 22.—After *he* the printer has erroneously taken out the mark [1] which refers to the foot-note. Fol. 8 of the MS. begins thus: *he ſinks* . . . . . *Plæbeii** [here is a mark for an insertion, which is lost] *really ought* . . . . *has ſet them.***

Venice and Poland . . . . .

PAGE 25.—The quotation is from Andrew Marvell's poem, "A Dialogue between Two Horses."

PAGE 30.—*Thomas Thynne*, known as "Tom of Ten

Thousand," succeeded to Longleat, and lived there in great magnificence. He was basely assassinated while in his coach in Pall Mall, Feb. 12, 1687, by the connivance, as it is believed, of Count Konigsmark, a Swedish nobleman, who was tried for the crime, but was acquitted; his associates, who actually committed the murder, were hanged. (Burke, "Peerage and Baronetage.")

The following extract from Kennet, "History of England," iii. 402, will correct Defoe's mistake as to the nationality of *Captain Vratz*:—"The chief of the murderers readily confess'd the whole fact, said his name was Vratz, that he was a *German* and a Captain of Foot. *His servant, who was a Polander*, discharged his musquetoon upon Mr. Thynne."

Page 32.—*Charles Stourton*, seventh baron, having committed a foul murder upon a person of the name of Hargil and his son, was tried, convicted, and executed in a halter of silk at Salisbury, in March 1557. (Burke, "Peer. and Bar.")

Mervin Lord Audley, Earl of *Castlehaven* in Ireland, having had three indictments found against him at Salisbury Assizes, for a rape upon his own wife and for sodomy, was tried by his Peers in Westminster Hall on April 25; and, being found guilty of those abominable sins in their aggravated form, was sentenced to death, and soon after executed. (Kennet, "History of England," iii. 59.) He was the second Earl of Castlehaven. The execution was on the 14th of May 1631, on Tower Hill. (Burke, "Peer. and Bar.")

Page 32.—Balthasar Gérard, assassin of the Prince of Orange, 1558–1584.

Page 32.—John Felton assassinated the Duke of Buckingham at Portsmouth, August 24, 1628.

Page 33.—*Æſmodean* is a blunder; it should be *Aſmonean race*—viz., the family of the Asmoneans, who ruled over the Jews for about one hundred and seventy years.

Page 34.—After *as to the true and proper means of obtaining fame* (line 2), the following long passage has been struck out:—

I might go on here, and that very ſuitably to my preſent purpoſe, to mencion the follys of other nacions, who value themſelves upon the antiquity of their race and upon the blood of their anceſtors; but there is one country in particular, and not the leaſt famed for pride neither, who are ſo unhappily corrupted by the meaneſt of all mixtures, I mean that of Moors and Arabs, Turks and Mahometans, that they begin to quit the claim to the antiquity of their blood, and claim their honour from the modern advances of their families, and chooſe to run up their pedigree to ſome foreign familyes, if poſſible ſo to ſhun ſo much as the probability of their being traced back to the Moroſcoes or ſome other race of ſlaves, negroes, or barbarians. Theſe are the Spaniſh and Portugueſe. It is true it is not much leſs than three hundred yeares ſince the Moores were expelled from the footing they had in Spain and Portugal alſo, being oblig'd after the battle of Xeres to abandonne the whole country and leave it to the Spaniards.

It is true alſo that no longer ago than the year 1500 or thereabout the King of Spain baniſh'd all thoſe people call'd the Maroſcoes, being the offspring of theſe Moores, and moſt of whom, rather than quit the country, had turn'd and quitted the mahometan religion and began to call themſelves Spaniards, but who for reaſons of State, which I confeſs I think were no reaſons, were, I ſay, at once expelled the Kingdom to the number of near a million of people, and to the great impoveriſhing of the country as well in that which is the main wealth of any nacion, viz. their people, as their money. But with all this, as the Moors, who were all Mahometans and the ſpurious, promiſcuous race of Goths, Vandals, Arabs, Negroes, and Mauritanians, amongſt whom no diſtincion of blood or families are made, were poſſeſſ't of the whole country for above 700 yeares, till the time of King Ferdinand, who, by the taking of the city of Granada and the great battle of Xeres above, entirely conquer'd them and drov them over into Africa; I ſay, as they poſſeſſ't the whole country in property and government ſo many years, you hardly find a family of any antiquity beyond the year 1400 to 1500 who are not of Mooriſh original, or whoſe blood has not been blended with the meaneſt of all corrupted originalls, the Moors; except ſuch familyes as have ſettled in Spain from other countryes under the Spanish government.

PAGE 35.—The quotation is from Defoe's "True Born Englishman."

PAGE 40.—On the back of fol. 14 is the following sentence, which, however, is struck out:—
'tis for younger brothers to travell, ſtudy, and accompliſh them-

ſelves; the eldeſt ſon of the family is abov it all, thoſe things are utterly needleſs to him.

The quotations from Rochester on this page and the next are from his "Letter from Artemisia in the Town, to Chloe in the Country."

PAGE 61.—On fol. 22b is the following list of the revenues of Spanish bishops and archbishops:—

A.B. of Toledo, 300,000 pieces of eight; A.B. of Seville, 120,000; A.B. of Mexico, 60,000; A.B. of Lima, 30,000; Granada, 40,000; Cordova, 40,000; Placenza, 40,000; A.B. Saragoca, 45,000; A.B. Valencia, 30,000; Cuenza, 50,000; A. Burgos, 40,000; Seguenzo, 40,000; Segovia, 26,000; Oſma, 26,000; Pampelona, 28,000; Salamanca, 24,000; Coria, 26,000; Jaen, 40,000; Malaga, 50,000; Murcia, 24,000; Los Angelos, 150,000.

PAGE 63.—The word *than* in line 15 is a slip made under the impression that the beginning of the sentence was *five times more*.

PAGE 68.—After *for the liberty of being ignorant* (line 2), the following paragraph has been struck out:—

Nay, when the Czar cauſed a high way to be cut thro' the woods and forreſts, broad and ſtrait, pav'd and ſolid, to paſs the neareſt way from Moſcow to Peterſburg, tho' no man was injur'd by it, tho' it was clean and fair, and the old way was full of ſloughs and for many months unpaſſable, tho' it was a ſtrait road by a line and conſequently much nearer, the old way being above 30 German miles, that is, 120 Engliſh miles about; tho' he built inns and houſes of entertainment at moderate diſtances for ſupply and convenience, and bridges for paſſing the rivers, whereas before they were oblig'd to croſs deep and dangerous rivers and often to ſwim their horſes, or, if frozen, venture upon the ice; yet they were ſo farr from accepting the publick good that becauſe it was among the reſt an innovation, they murmur'd at, and for a long time would not travell that way or make uſe of the houſes of entertainment provided for them.

PAGE 69.—After *of the people about them*, the following long passage has been struck out:—

In Muſcovy the clergy are no more able to inſtruct the people or ſhew them examples of polite learning and a liberall educacion, that they are as groſſly ignorant as the reſt, perfectly untaught, infinitely ſuperſtitious and oppoſ'd [to] all improvements, as above, under the notion of innovacions and ſinfull being a conformity to other nacions of differing churches, pretending there is no ſalvation out of the communion of the Greek Church, in which their religion is a meer heap of confuſion, a lump of ceremony and ſuperſtition, nonſence and contradiccion; abhorring images of Saints, yet worſhiping their pictures; keeping 5 lents in a year, and abſtaining from fleſh till they are allmoſt ſtarv'd, but getting drunk every day for the reliefe of nature and an empty ſtomach.

The learning requir'd in a clergyman is to ſing well and be able to ſay what they call their Maſs, which is neither ſo good as the Miſſal of Rome or quite ſo bad as the old one of the Pagans, out of which both are deriv'd.

As for preaching or expoſition of the Scripture, they neither perform or underſtand it, neither is there a man among them that was ever taught to preach, expound, or diſcourſe to the people in a pulpit to the congregation. Their whole office is perform'd in the deſk, and their churches are rather like pageants and picture shops than places of worship. They can rail at other people's religion indeed, when they cannot underſtand their own, raiſe mutinyes and rebellions againſt innovations, for fear any body ſhould open the people's eyes and make them too wiſe for their inſtructors; and in the late rebellion of the Strelitzes there was near 200 of the prieſts among them animating the ſoldiers to cut their Emperor's throat for deſiring to introduce learning and the knowledge of uſefull arts among them.

PAGE 72.—That ladies of rank ought to suckle their own children is also recommended by other writers on education; *e.g.*, Braithwait, "The English Gentlewoman," 1631, p. 161.

PAGE 74.—*Cf.* Elyot, "The Governor" (ed. Croft), i. 29.

For, as ſome auncient writers do ſuppoſe, often times the childe ſoukethe the vice of his nouryſe with the milke of her pappe.

PAGE 77.—On the opposite page the names of the two families are given: *Wharton* and *Darwentwater*.

PAGE 114.—That Defoe himself was doubtful as to the Latin names of these towns is apparent from the mark for "query" which he has added in the margin.

PAGE 117.—We need not believe Defoe's assertion as to the genuineness of the two letters which he meant to insert here.

PAGE 120.—*The three Leslys.* In the other work contained in the MS., "On Royall Educacion," fol. 72–74, Defoe speaks only of two such generals; but he is not quite accurate in either place, as only two of the family served under Gustavus Adolphus, and as only one of these could not write. In the "Historical Records of the Family of Leslie," by Colonel Leslie, I find that no less than four members of the family served in Germany during the Thirty Years' War.

1. *Sir Alexander Leslie of Balgony* was general of the Swedish army in Westphalia (*cf.* "Records," vol. ii. 103). Gustavus Adolphus raised him to the rank of lieutenant-general and field-marshal. In 1626 he was sent to take command of Stralsund, and successfully resisted the siege of that place by Wallenstein (iii. 356). He is reported to have been absolutely illiterate.
2. *David Leslie* (iii. 198), first Lord of Newark, born 1601, entered the service of Gustavus Adolphus during his wars in Germany. There he attained the rank of colonel of horse, and acquired the reputation of being an excellent officer. When the civil war broke out in Scotland, he was called home by the Covenanters in 1637. He greatly contributed to the defeat of the royal army at Marston Moor, 1644. But he was not illiterate, as is shown by a letter printed in the "Records," and which he wrote himself.—Defoe's error as to number seems to be caused by the two other members of the same family who also fought in Germany.
3. *Walter* (iii. 241), first Count Leslie, founder of the family of the Counts Leslie of the Holy Roman Empire, born 1606; he entered the Imperial service, in which he served with great distinction and honour in the war against the Swedes. He was created Count Leslie and Lord of Neustadt in Bohemia. He became a field-marshal and Governor of Sclavonia. He was one of the partisans of the Emperor who murdered Wallenstein.
4. *George Leslie*, second son of George Leslie, went to Germany, entered the army, attained the rank of colonel. He was killed at a siege (iii. 356).

PAGE 121.—These verses, which Defoe quotes also in his "Essay on Projects," are taken from Roscommon's "Essay on Translated Verse."

PAGE 178.—Swift, in his "Essay on Education" ("Works," 1841, ii. 290), shows at length how after the Restoration the Crown lay under the necessity of handing over the chief conduct of the public affairs to new men merely for want of a supply among the nobility. He gives a long list of names.

PAGE 180.—Sir . . . . . H., mentioned again on page 239 as Sir T. Ha . . . r, is probably Sir Thomas Hanmer, born in 1676, son of William Hanmer, Esq. He was returned to Parliament, at the accession of Queen Anne, for the co. of Flint, elected in 1707 for the co. of Suffolk, and chosen Speaker of the House of Commons in 1712. He sat more than thirty years in the House of Commons. (Burke, "Peer. and Bar)."

PAGE 181.—After *but that by the by* the following lines have been struck out:—*Of whom the famous Andrew Marvell ſings merrily:*

> *But thanks to the w . . . . . who made the King dogged,*
> *For giving no more the fools were prorogued.*

Then follows the heading of Chapter V. (page 184), after which comes the deleted paragraph beginning *Of theſe gentlemen* (p. 181).

PAGE 184.—At the beginning of fol. 101 is a different heading to Chapter V., but is struck out:—

CHAP. V.

Of what is properly to be call'd learning in a gentleman; of the affliccion it is ſometimes to gentlemen of quallity, whoſe genius and capaſcityes are equally perfect with thoſe of the moſt learned, to find themſelves, as it were, wholly excluded from the ſociety of the beſt men by the neglect of their parents in their educacion; and of the great miſtake they are guilty of in being afflicted at it and not takeing (and of the eaſy and) [*added over line*] proper meaſures to retriev it.

PAGE 184.—After *without any diſguiſe*, the following passage is struck out:—

When the fabrick is thus built and that the foundation lay'd in pride is grown up in ignorance, 'tis ſtill ſupported by the ſame prepoſterous notion: the gentleman ſcorns the ſcandal of being learned, is vain of his ignorance, calls it a life of pleaſure, glories in it, and is happy onely as not kn . . . ? He is blinded by his pride not to ſee that he is compleatly miſerable; and here his pride is evedently a vertue, ſay thoſe criticall enquirers.

Page 186.—After *when he is grown up*, the following passage has been scored through :—

His maſters, his parents, his inſtructors, who turn'd him into the field an aſs, would never have taken him up a horſe, had he fed in the beſt paſture in the world ; and to have beſtow'd teaching upon one that could not learn had been ſomething like a covetous man who, carrying gold to the refiner's to be melted, put lead into the crucible to encreaſe the quantity, not doubting but being melted with the pure metal it would all come out gold together, but found his lead was but a lump of lead ſtill and could not incorporate with the gold.

But this is onely where I ſay the youth is incapable by meer naturall defects, where he has no power, and is not receptiv of learning ; then, indeed, the parents had been in the right and it had been the beſt thing they could do to let the underſtanding run wild. Why ſhould they make vain attempts to hamer in learning where the ſtrokes would make no impreſſion ?

But if there are ſuch natural powers ; if the youth was forward to learn, had a genius, a memory, an inclinacion, all ſuited to reciev the impreſſions of early education, there it muſt be acknowleg'd 'twas an unſufferable injury to deny teaching and to withold the helps which nature indeed, as it were, openly call'd for.

Page 207.—W. Whiston, 1667–1752 : "A New Theory of the Earth ; wherein the Creation of the World in Six Days, the Universal Deluge, and the General Conflagration, as laid down in the Holy Scriptures, are shown to be perfectly agreeable to Reason and Philosophy," Lond. 1696, 1718, 1725, 8vo.

Page 210.—John Oldham, 1653–83.

Page 214.—Dr. Thomas Burnet, *d.* 1715 : "Telluris Theoria Sacrae," Lond. 1681–9, 2 vols. 4to ; Amst. 1699, 4to. Translated into English by himself, Lond. 1684–9, 2 vols. fol.

Page 218.—In writing this, Defoe perhaps thought of his own schoolmaster, Charles Morton, to whose excellent teaching he has borne testimony on another occasion.

The first schoolmaster who advocated the study of English was Richard Mulcaster (1582), as has been pointed out by Mr. Quick (ed. of Mulcaster's "Positions") and Dr. Furnivall (p. lviii of his article mentioned in the Introduction).

Page 219.—*Khiel* is doubtless a wrong spelling for *Keill*

(*John*), the name of the author of the "Introductio ad Veram Astronomiam," ed. 2^{nda}, Londini, 1721. There is a Flemish historian and poet, *Cornelis van Kiel* or *Cornelius Kilianus*, 1530(?)–1607; but he can hardly be meant.

PAGE 223.—*John Toland*, a deistical writer born in Ireland, 1670–1722. *Thomas Emlyn*, an English Nonconformist theologian, 1663–1743.

PAGE 223.—Epiphanius and Tertullian derive the name of the *Ebonites* from Ebion, a disciple of Cerinthus. Others derive it from the Hebrew Ebionim, *i.e.*, poor people.

PAGE 225.—Capt. Woods Rogers: "Voyage to the South Seas and round the World," 1708–11; "Cruising Voyage round the World," Lond. 1712, 8vo.

PAGE 244.—In a book entitled "The Country Gentleman's Vademecum," by G. Jacob, Gent., 1717, it is shown at length what the annual expense in the country was, at Defoe's time, of a nobleman's family comprising about twenty-five or thirty persons, "to be maintained genteelly and plentifully." The total expense is estimated at £1200 to £1500. The wages for the twenty servants amount to only £170.

PAGE 266.—After *pointed out*, the following words have been struck out:—

ſuch as Mr. Edwards, Sir John Eyles, Sir Gilbert Heathcot, and many more.

PAGE 268.—After *heſitation*, the following passage has been struck out:—

Nay, ſhall theſe be rejected, when 'tis evedent that ſome of them ſhall come in and be received without ſuch a ceremony, when the huckſters of partyes and families ſhall upon the moſt fooliſh pretence ſhut them entirely out?

PAGE 268.—No Lord Mayor's son of the name of Sir A.... C.... is known; the two persons are either fictitious or disguised under wrong initials. (Bickley.)

PAGE 276.—No baronet with the initials B and F, suiting the circumstances related here, can be identified. (Bickley.)

INDEX.

ACADEMY, an, where everything was taught in English, 218
Adam, 37, 110
Addison, 262
Adrian, 226
Æsmonean (MS. Æsmodean) race, 33 (*see* the note)
Æthiopians, 12
Alexander the Great, 226
Ammon, the children of, 83
Anne, a saying of the late Queen, 235
Anne, wife of James I., suckled her own children, 78
Archangel, 37
Argyle, Duke of, 261
August I., Elector of Saxony, 30
Augustus, 226
Ave Maria Lane, 237

BACKSWORD men, 12
Bajazet, 226
Bar Jesus, 33
Bateman, Sir James, 262, 266
Bear Garden, 32
Beauford, Duke of, 261
Bedford, Duke of, 261
Belisarius, 226
Ben Gorion, 33
Bing, Pattee, 262
Blacket, the family of, 265
Blenheim, 227
Blunt, 263
Boyars 227

Boyle, 69
Braganza, the Royal House of, 34
Bridewell, 210
Brookbank, 263
Buchan, Earl of, 261
Burnet, 214

CADOGAN, 62
Cæsar, 4, 226
Cambden, 210, 214
Carthage, 39
Castlehaven, Lord, 32 (with a note)
Castlemain, Lord, 263
Catharine I. of Russia, 35
Ceciles, the, 77
Cerinthus, 223
Cham of Tartary, 29
Chambers, Mrs., 261
Charles II., sayings of, 25, 93, 180
Chester, 263
Chevy Chase, 135
Child, a modern family in Essex, 263
Child, Mr., 261
Child, Sir Josiah, 266
Childs, Sir Richard, 263
Churchil, Lady, 262
Classic, value of the, languages, 209; nothing but classic reading is now called literature, 222
Clergymen, position of the, 46
Cock at Charleton, family in Essex, 263
Collier, 263
Columbus, 226
Compton, Lady, 262
Cortez, 226
Coward, 263
Craven, Sir William, and his son, 15 (with a note)
Cressner, 263, 265

DAMPIER, 225
Darcyes, the, 167
Darwentwater, note to p. 77
Daval, 263
David, 25

Dead-weight, the, in the House of Parliament, 95
Defoe, his knowledge of Latin, note to p. 114
De la Porte, family in Essex, 263
De Vall, Sir Thom., 266
De Vere, 14, 77, 167
Drake, 226
Drinking, the habit of excessive, with gentlemen, 70
Duncan, Mrs., 261

EBION, 223 (*see* the note)
Education of the born gentleman, mistakes committed by his mother and aunts, 6 (and note), 7, 92; by his father, 9, 10; he is not sent to school, 7; very few elder sons are sent to the Universities, 55, 118; elder sons are above study, note to p. 40
Edwards, Mr., note to p. 266
Emlin, 223
English, the study of, recommended, 219 (*see also* note to p. 218)
Excester, Earl of, 261
Eyles, Sir John, note to p. 266

FAIRFAX, Mrs., 261
Fawkes, Guy, 32
Felton, 32 (with a note)
Ferdinand of Castile, 35
Foleys, the, 267
Franks, 22
French horn, the, 44, 57, 158
Furnese, Sir Robert, 264
Furnis, family in Essex, 263

GARTER, Knight of the, 28
Gentleman, distinction between the born gentleman and the bred gentleman, 3, 4, 257 *seq.*; the complete gentleman, 3, 4, 5; derivation of the word, 11; its meaning, 13, 15, 46, 52; a Scotch gentleman sentenced to be beheaded instead of being hanged, 52; how a day is spent *like a gentleman*, 57, 58; manners and occupations of the country gentlemen and their ignorance, 39, 64 *seq.*, 86 *seq.*; conversation of two brothers on the meaning of the word "gentleman," 43 *seq.*
Gerrard, Balthazar, 32 (with a note)
Gerrard, Mrs., 261
Gore, Mr., 262

Goths, 22
Gould, 263
Grand Seignior, 29
Gustavus Adolphus, 14, 120

HALLEY, Dr., 154, 207
Hamilton, Duke, 261
Hanmer, Sir Thomas (called No. 50), 180 (*see* the note), 239
Hannibal, 226
Hastings, the, 167
Hawking, 70
Heathcot, Sir Gilbert, note to p. 266
Holmes, 261
Honorius, 226
Houblon, 263
Howard, 263
Howards, the, 167
Howland, Mr., 261, 265

INCOMES of the Spanish and Italian clergy, 61 (and the note); of the English gentry and nobility, 60
Irish custom, an, 146
Isla, Earl, 261
Isles, a modern family in Essex, 263
Isles, Sir John, 263
Italian gentlemen, 11

JOSEPH, 33
Jove, 80
Judas, 33

KHIEL, 219 (*see* the note)
Knight, Mrs., 261

LEARNING despised, 7, 44 *seq.*, 64, 65, 98 *seq.*
Le Fort, 67
Leipzig, battle of, 227
Leopold, Emperor of Germany, called the old fiddler of Vienna by Louis XIV., 119
Lesly, three Scotch generals, 120 (*see* the note)
Lethulier, 263
Library, a catalogue of books in a country gentleman's, 135; how a country gentleman bought a library, 137 *seq.*

Locke, 69
London in ruins, 39
Louis XIV., 119
Ludgate Street, 137

MALPLAQUET, 227
Marlborough, 62
Marshals, French, 62
Martin, 263
Marvell, Andrew, 25 (*see* the note), and note to p. 181
Mead, 263
Mead, Sir Nath., 263
Menchikoff, the Deputy-Czar, 35
Milton, 20
Moab, the children of, 83
Mohuns, the, 262
Moors, 34
Muscovites, ignorance of the, 63, 112, 122

NARBRO', Lady, 262
Narva, 227
Nebuchadnezzar, 17, 18
Nero, 119
Newgate, 32
Newton, 69, 207, 219
Nobility, enormous wealth of the English, 60–63; Spanish, 61; French, 61; Venetian, 21–26; Polish, 114

OLDHAM, 210
Onslow, Lord, 261
Oxford, Earl of, 14

PAGE, family in Essex, 263
Page, Sir Gregory, 264
Papilon, family in Essex, 233
Pater Noster Row, 137
Patricii of Rome, 11
Pension Parliament, 95
Percys, the, 262
Peter the Great, 35–38, 66, 187, 193
Pharisees, 12, 17
Plebeij, 18
Polanders, 21, 29–31

Polish gentlemen are all of them scholars, 114
Poltcot, 32
Porto Bello, 227
Portuguese nobility, 34 (*see also* the note)

RAVENNA, 22
Rawson, 263
Rebow, an Essex family, 263
Reval, 227
Rhehobeam, 107
Robin Hood, 135
Rochester, the poet, 40, 41
Rogers, 225
Romans, the, 11, 18, 22
Roscommon, Earl of, 121
Russel, Lady, 262
Russels, the, 77, 265
Russian nobility, 35, 67–69; Russian stupidity, 12, 63, 147; Russian clergy, note to p. 69

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD, 137
Salisbury, cathedral of, 32
Saul, 25
Scawen, Sir Thom., 262; Sir William, 266
Scholar, description of a, 201
Schoolmasters despised, 7, 9; their severity, 7
Schools, 7; Eaton, Winchester, Westminster, Felsted, Bishop Stortford, Canterbury, 8; Winchester School, 129; going to school is below a gentleman, 7, 98
Selymus, 226
Senacharib, 227
Shovel, family in Essex, 263
Shovell, Cloudsly, 262
Simeon, 33
Simon Magus, 33
Solomon, 37, 78
Southampton, 141
Southsea, 269
Spaniards, 12, 34 (and the note); revenues of Spanish bishops, note to p. 61
Spelling, bad, of gentlemen, 117
Stangeways, Mrs., 261
Stourton, family of, 32 (with a note)

Suckling of children, 70 (and note to p. 72)

TALBOTS, the, 167
Tamerlan, 226
Tankerville, Lord, 261
Thynne, Thomas, Esq., assassinated by Capt. Vratz, 30 (with a note)
Titus Vespasian, 226
Toland, 223
Tomombejus, 226
Transactions, Philosophical, of the Royal Society, 192
Translations, value of, 223 *seq.*
Travelling, 38, 39
Tunbridge, 117
Tutors generally are only the play-fellows of their pupils, 87; besides, they ruin their morals, 87; and this they are compelled to do, 87; they are the "murderers" of a child's morals, 71; their salary, 206, 213
Tysson, family of, 263
Tysson, Mr., 266

VANDALS, 22
Venetian nobility, 21–28
Veres, the, 262
Vratz, Captain, assassin of Thom. Thynne, Esq., 30

WARWICK, Countess Dowager of, 262
Webster, 263
Welsh gentlemen, 21
Western, 263
Wharton, Duke, 261
Whartons, the, 77 (*see also* the note)
Whiston, 207
Whitfield, Mrs., 261
William the Conqueror, 4
William III., saying of, 102; a greater king than Titus, 226

ZIA, strange customs in the island of, 93

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